‘Vox tua nempe mea est’

Dialogues with the dead in Roman funerary commemoration

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> I, who speak without a voice by means of the inscribed marble, was born in wonderful Tralles, travelled often from Asia via all the houses of Baiae for the hot springs and the joys of the sea. This honourable and unforgotten life of mine was commemorated with this monument by my heir with 50,000, according to my wishes, setting up the last temple to my Manes, for my ashes and for the obsequies. But you who read this, I beseech you to call to me: Socrates, son of Aristomachus, may the earth lie lightly on you!
>
> *CIL* XIV 480 [Ostia]*Catalogue B166*[S1*]

INTRODUCTION

In Roman funerary commemoration, the dead could communicate with the living through the medium of the words inscribed on their monuments, provided these words were read. The reader had a crucial role to play in the transmission of information and sentiments, and this is especially the case with the epitaphs that are referred to in this study as ‘speaking’ stones. These addressed the traveller, stranger or passer-by, asked him to read the text, and often implored him to speak a greeting to the person whose tomb the monument marked. Although there is little doubt that Romans could and often did read some documents silently, it was customary to read epigraphic texts aloud. In reading funerary inscriptions and uttering the words whilst reading them, the reader lent his voice to the deceased and engaged in a verbal dialogue with the dead. The invitation to interact with the words of the deceased was extended not only to surviving friends and family, but also, and even primarily, to people who had never known the commemorated while they were alive.

Although ‘speaking’ sepulchral inscriptions have been of some interest to scholars exploring a range of themes expressed in Roman funerary commemoration, there has been no systematic collection of such epitaphs, nor, I think, has their significance truly been appreciated (Purdie 1935; Lattimore 1942; Häusle 1980; Koortbojian 1996; Bodel 2001). Literary and linguistic aspects have represented the main focus of studies of the ‘speaking’ stones, especially those with inscriptions written in verse, but this is a rather narrow and one-sided approach to the material (Lissberger 1934; Hoogma 1959; Popova 1976; Cugusi 1996; Sblendorio Cugusi 2005). The data collected and presented here consist of 554 funerary inscriptions in Latin gathered by examining all *CIL* volumes as well as other *corpora*, epigraphic journals and collections of verse inscriptions. The earliest ‘speaking’ stones in

*translations throughout are by M. Carroll unless otherwise indicated; see *Appendix* [S1…] for Latin & Greek sources

Latin date to the late second and early first century BC, the latest to the sixth century AD. The vast majority of these (300) are from Italy, and of those 120 are from Rome. The Iberian peninsula has produced 115, followed by Africa with 53, North-East Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean with 46, the four Gauls with 26, the German provinces with 13, and finally Britain with a single stone. Numerically these represent a very small proportion of the total known Roman funerary inscriptions (Saller & Shaw 1984: 124); despite their modest numbers, however, the 'speaking' inscriptions are of considerable importance in illuminating how the reading of monumental texts depended on the visual, vocal and oral senses.

In this study, the collected data are used to explore how the survival of the memory of the deceased in epigraphy required active participation by the viewer in voiced communication, and how the response of the living was thought to bridge the gap between them and the dead in a symbolic way. It is an essential part of this investigation to explore the ability of individuals to read and write, especially since epitaphs that required reading and a verbal response also appear in regions that traditionally are ranked rather low in literacy rates. The information recorded in the inscriptions is used to assess the status of those who set up such monuments and those who were given them in order to gain some insight into the significance of at least appearing to be literate in certain sectors of society. Finally, we can explore the extent to which this act of speaking or reciting the words inscribed in stone may have been perceived as performative magic.

MONUMENTS, AUDIENCE AND MEMORY

Tombs in all their above-ground forms were among the most public monuments of Roman settlements across the empire. Whoever approached a Roman town by any of the main overland roads passed through a suburban community of the dead marked and remembered by tombs inscribed with all manner of personal information (Hatt 1951; D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983; Kockel 1983; Eisner 1986; von Hesberg & Zanker 1987; Baldassare *et al.* 1996; Heinzelmann 2000; Heinzelmann *et al.* 2001; Fig. 1). The road-side location of burial grounds

Fig. 1 View of the tombs along the road outside the Porta Nocera at Pompeii *Photo: author*

on the outskirts of towns, often in close proximity to suburban houses and shops, allowed these funerary monuments to be seen and visited by many. In the Roman countryside the cemeteries associated with villas and farms also stood in visible and busy places along the well-travelled country roads or in close proximity to the inhabited buildings of the estates. Such locations facilitated frequent contact, and it was the visitors to the tombs – either family and friends or complete strangers – who kept the memory of the dead alive. This explains why the poet Ovid, banned by Augustus to the Black Sea, feared he would die in exile

> *sed sine funeribus caput hoc, sine honore sepulcri,*
> *indeploratum barbara terra teget* Ovid *Tr.* 3.3.45–46
>
> without a funeral, without a tomb, unmourned, unhonoured, in a barbarian land

He would have been robbed of the company and participation of those who could have visited his tomb to ensure his remembrance.

The more intimate and enclosed burial communities of the Roman *columbaria*, in which the cremated remains of dozens or even hundreds of slaves, freedmen and individuals of modest means were kept, were far less visible to passers-by, but even they attracted an audience (Buonocore 1984; Nielsen 1996; Hope 1997; Caldelli & Ricci 1999). Visitors paying their respects to their loved ones usually would find who they were looking for with the aid of inscribed or painted labels under the urn niches, but they would also see many epitaphs belonging to individuals who were strangers.

Whether located in suburban or in rural settings, or integrated in smaller burial groups, the tombs, their images, and all their texts assumed and addressed an audience. Ovid, as we have seen, lamented the lack of audience on foreign soil. The 'speaking' stones reach out to the viewer by various means. They often refer to the reader as "whoever you might be" (*quisquis es, quicumque*…), suggesting that their intended audience could be just about anyone who drew near (*Catalogue* A19; A48; A55; A111; A114; B38; B84; B147; B153; C91; D11). The frequent appeal to the traveller is something that really only makes sense if the inscription is on a monument seen regularly by those on roads into towns. The tombs that stood out in the open on the main thoroughfares can contain specific topographical references to their road-side location. The inscription of Gaius Ateilius Euhodus, for example, asks "Stranger, stop and behold this heap of earth on your left" [S2](*Catalogue* A5). This inscription from the first half of the first century BC was, in fact, found associated with a tomb on the left side of the Via Appia as one exited the city. Gnaeus Gargonius Pallinus was buried on the Via Flaminia near Fulginium, and his epitaph runs: "You who pass by on the Via Flaminia, stop and read this!" (*tu qui via Flaminea transis resta ac relege*) (*Catalogue* B161). The inscriptions in the closed chambers of the columbaria around Rome, in contrast, are never addressed to the passer-by. The 'speaking' stones of the columbarium only address the stranger (*hospes*), viz., *quicumque legis titulum* ("whoever reads the inscription").

Roman legal texts define a memorial (*monumentum*) as a means of preserving memory and as a vehicle for representing the "essence and dignity" (*substantias et dignitas*) of an individual (*Digest* 11.7.2.6; 35.127). In Roman literature there are many references to the commemorative role of tombs and inscriptions (Pliny the Elder, *HN* 34.17; Pliny the Younger, *Ep*. 6.10.5, 9.19.3; Petronius, *Sat.* 71). The poet Propertius, for example, makes it quite clear in his *Elegies* that he viewed his tomb as "the stones that guard [his] memory" (*lapides cana veni memores*) (Prop. 2.13.40). What communicated to the audience of the tombs was the inscription (*titulus*) of a few words, a verse, or a (sometimes lengthy) poem (Fig. 2). The inscribed texts were thought to preserve memory for as long as they survived, that is for as long as they were not defaced by man or worn away by the weather. "In my verses you will live, however long it may be" [S3], says the epitaph on a marble panel composed by the husband of Allia Potestas in Rome.[1]

The written words on the tombs provided information about individuals, but that was not their only role. Names, family histories, social rank, ethnic origin, careers, personal

Fig. 2 The tombs of the freedmen Marcus Blaesius Malcio (left) and Marcus Lollius Nicia (right) with multiple inscription panels (*tituli*) in the Fondo Pacifico south-east of Pompeii, late first century BC – early first century AD[84]
Photo: author

tragedies, and emotional bonds were recorded for posterity (Carroll 2006). The texts were chosen to communicate standing within the community and to embed the deceased and the commemorators within it. Funerary monuments through their conformity could give a sense of communal identity to those who lived and died within the parameters of socially acceptable behaviour and who participated in this form of display. Furthermore, competition with others on the same social level was made possible, as was the elevation over those of lower social standing, and also the 'correction' of inequalities suffered in life.

Some of the epitaphs on these funerary monuments were chosen by the deceased whilst still alive, others were selected by the surviving family, community or comrades. By inscribing this information, the deceased or dedicator was "addressing a future society, which he envisaged as valuing this message" (Susini 1973: 64). In many cases epitaphs were thought to provide guidance on how to live. In fact, Varro connects the word *monumentum* with *admonere* (to remind):

> *sic monumenta quae in sepulcris, et ideo secundum viam, quo praetereuntis admoneant et se fuisse et illos esse mortalis* Varro, *de lingua latina*, 6.49
>
> …the monuments which are on tombs and along the road…the dead remind the passer-by that both they themselves, and those passers-by as well, are mortal

Epitaphs therefore tell us how people wanted themselves or those close to them to be remembered and how they hoped to interact with the living in the future.

LITERACY AND SOCIAL STATUS

In his seminal study in 1989, Harris concluded that literacy was not widespread in the Classical world. According to him, less than 10% of adult males in the western Roman provinces in the first couple of centuries AD were literate, with adult male literacy in contemporary Rome and Italy well below 20 to 30% (Harris 1989: 259, 272). If Harris's conclusions are correct, not only would most people in the Roman world not have been able to read the inscriptions on grave monuments, they also would not have been able to give the verbal responses so important to the 'speaking' stones. About 40% of the 'speaking'

stones examined here explicitly ask the visitor to read the text or refer to the viewer as "the reader" (*lector*). Sometimes the viewer is commanded to read: "Stop, traveller and read!" (*resta viator et lege*) (*Catalogue* F4). For that reason, and because Harris (1989: 221–2) devoted very little attention to funerary inscriptions, we need to consider the issue of literacy and the extent to which these texts were read and understood.

Some scholars generally accept the picture painted by Harris of an absence of mass literacy and find his estimates very broadly correct (Beard 1991: 39, n. 6). But many argue that his estimates are too low and that his conclusions about the nature and function of writing are misleading. For one thing, the participation of the non-elite majority in producing and consuming texts was not given the attention it deserved, even though literacy clearly was not a preserve of the elite (Bowman 1991: 123). Indeed, Franklin (1991) demonstrated that literacy was more widespread than Harris would allow, as even labourers and whores in Roman Pompeii could write. Although Ling (2007: 88) does not concern himself with actual percentages and numbers of people who could read and write, in examining inscriptions on mosaics and paintings he paints a less bleak picture than Harris in asserting that there clearly "were enough people who were literate, if not well educated, to make the practice of inscribing worth while". Curchin (1995: 461) argues that Harris's method focussed on the quantity of inscriptions rather than their contents as a criterion of literacy, an approach that allowed no discussion of why people in the western provinces became literate.

Beard (1991: 37) criticised Harris for seeing writing primarily as a practical tool and as a record of the spoken language, and she explored the important issue of how writing may transcend its original practical purpose. Indeed, Thomas (1992: 89) concluded that the use of writing was not dependent on simple content alone, but that symbolic, religious and visual elements also contributed to the function of the written text. As for inscriptions, Thomas demonstrated that the symbolic significance of such texts was fundamental to their existence and understanding. The very fact that funerary inscriptions were perceived by Roman society as an ideal vehicle to prolong one's life and memory symbolically is testimony to the significance of these texts beyond the mere practical recording of data.

Nevertheless, there can be no dispute that not everyone had the ability to read, and that sometimes inscriptions could only be understood with a bit of help. Consider the following epitaph of the third century AD from Sulmo[85] (*Catalogue* B57).

"Greetings, traveller, who passes on this road, your body still safe, stop and read…I ask all of you, already born or who will be born, if some mistake escapes me, I who am a barbarian by birth from Pannonia, disoriented by so many injuries and misfortunes, please pardon me, I ask you. But now I invoke the gods so that if anyone damages or violates this tomb or this inscription he may be troubled with misfortune and that in contrast good favour will be shown to whomever will have read this inscription or heard it being read and that finally they fare well for eternity those who will have read this inscription and its verses to say: May the earth lie lightly on you!…."

This remarkable inscription refers to individuals reading the text or listening to someone reading it. Attention was drawn by Harris and other scholars (1989: 34–5) to people listening to reading, with a well-known wall-painting in the House of Julia Felix, of a gathering of people in front of public notices in the forum at Pompeii being interpreted as individuals reading and also listening to others reading these notices aloud (Harris 1989: 34-35; Franklin 1991: 82; Horsfall 1991: 70). This Harris (1989: 35) referred to as "second-hand literacy". Corbier (1991: 111–12) stressed the importance of such public writing, citing papyri that record the initial vocal recitation of announcements and decrees that were subsequently written down and posted in a prominent place. Legibility was important, and these documents were written either in careful lettering on a whitened board or inscribed in marble or bronze in *litterae quadratae* (Bowman 1991: 121; Corbier 1991: 111–12). If public inscriptions in the towns, be they on buildings, arches, or the bases of honorific statues, prompted frequent reading and listening to reading, then the no less public and visible inscriptions on funerary monuments outside the towns also will have attracted this attention.

Monumental writing is particularly important in considering literacy, as people, especially in urban areas, were exposed constantly to a multitude of inscriptions. Petronius (*Sat*. 58) makes the freedman Hermeros say that, although he was not particularly well educated or familiar with literary criticism, he did "know his lapidary letters". In other words, he could read inscriptions or capital letters on inscriptions well enough to get by, but he had difficulty with other written documents in cursive script. Corbier (1991: 107) depicted a man like Hermeros as one who could have read all monumental inscriptions, including shop signs, election posters, and announcements for games, but who would have struggled with reading private letters or business accounts. Susini (1973: 52) suggested that public inscriptions, with their legible and carefully executed letters, would have constituted the best reading practice for those who learned to read informally, whether they were adults or children. Horsfall (1991: 62) went a step further in suggesting that people could have learned to read monumental writing by repeatedly hearing the texts being read by others, so that the words themselves would be memorised. The step from passive reception (by listening to reading) to active reading will not have been very difficult for many, once the substance of the texts was lodged in the memory (Horsfall 1991: 74–5).

If some or even many people relied on listening to others reading inscriptions aloud, this indeed suggests that there was an uneven distribution of literacy, but dividing the population into 'literate' and 'illiterate' characterises the situation in terms that are too polar. A degree of 'limited literacy' between these two extremes certainly existed, especially in regard to monumental writing. Monumental writing of all kinds was generally very formulaic, relying on standard abbreviations for a variety of terms and expressions. IMP CAESAR (*Imperator Caesar*), PONT MAX (*Pontifex Maximus*), and COS (*consul*) are examples of abbreviations used repeatedly on imperial inscriptions naming emperors and their offices. Abbreviations such as IMP AUG (*Imperator Augustus*), PP (*pater patriae*) and TRIB POT (*tribunicia potestas*) appear regularly on Roman coins throughout the Empire. Whether or not one was literate enough to read something as complex as Latin verse, these standardised combinations of letters would

Fig. 3 Epitaph of Aemilia Proculina with an abbreviated request (DIC QLSTTL) of the viewer to read and speak a greeting to the dead. Olaurum, late second-third century AD[S6] (*Catalogue C33*) *Photo: Centro CIL II*

have been widely understood because they always appear in the same contexts. Consider also the inscriptions in the cemeteries of garrison towns on the Roman frontier. Through such towns passed many soldiers and government officials, and many of the inhabitants in and around the towns were dependants of actively serving soldiers or veterans. They knew about troop types, military ranks and the nomenclature of army units. Abbreviations such as LEG (*legio*) or COH (*cohors*), followed by a number, appear over and over again in epitaphs of soldiers, and because of the familiarity of the town dwellers with things military we have reason to assume that such abbreviations generally were comprehensible to those who were literate as well as to those with limited literacy.

Even in the election notices written on many walls of Pompeian buildings abbreviations are extremely common. Ligatures and single letter abbreviations abound. There is little doubt that these abbreviations were nonetheless intelligible to voters, if only on account of their constant repetition (Franklin 1991: 84). Even the names of candidates were sometimes reduced to initials in campaign posters, and possibly it was the initials that were inscribed by electors on their voting tablets (Franklin 1991: 84, n. 22).

The fact that the letter-cutter knew the correct abbreviations, Curchin (1995: 467) maintains, is good evidence of a certain degree of literacy. He cites, as an example, a fairly typical Spanish funerary inscription (*CIL* II.2724) in which only two of the twelve words are written out completely, rather than abbreviated[87] (*D. M. Val. Rufine an. XII Lic. Anna m. pien. fil. po.*). The fact that not only the letter-cutter, but also the general reader of such texts, could make sense of this writing also provides attestation of a certain degree of literacy. Woolf (1996: 28) suggested that the abbreviations of words in inscriptions might "have been read quasi-pictoriographically". This idea has much to be said for it, especially in the context of funerary commemoration, and it is particularly relevant for many of the 'speaking' stones under consideration here. Frequently in epitaphs from the province of Baetica, in places such as Hispalis, Astigi, and Corduba, for example, the deceased is referred to as *pius in suis* or *pia in suis* (he/she looked after his/her own; he/she was dutiful to his/her own), followed usually by *hic situs/sita est, sit tibi terra levis*, but it is very rare elsewhere in Spain and virtually non-existent outside Spain.[2] The complete and frequent abbreviation is P I S H S E S T T L. In addition to the standard abbreviations such as H S E and S T T L, we find more extreme examples on the 'speaking' stones. The request that the reader of the epitaph greet the deceased was so popular in the first and second centuries AD in Baetica that the phrase *dicas/dicite qui legas/legitis sit tibi terra levis* (say, you who read: may the earth lie lightly on you!) or *te rogo praeteriens dicas sit tibi terra levis* (I ask you in passing to say: may the earth lie lightly on you!) is often abbreviated as D Q L S T T (Fig. 3) or T R P D S T T L (Fig. 4) respectively (as examples: *Catalogue* C9; C18; C23; C27; C35; C37; C45), or variants thereof.

The following two stelae from Astigi and Solia illustrate this particular use of abbreviations:

1 ACILIA THIA
TIS ANN XXV
HIC SITA EST
D Q L S T T L
I[n fro]NTE P XXV
IN AGRO P XX

Here lies Acilia Thiatis, who lived 25 years. Whoever reads this, say: May the earth lie lightly on you! Frontage 25 feet, depth 20 feet

(Catalogue C38)

Fig. 4 Epitaph of Lupus Taporus with the abbreviated text (HSETRPDSTTL) asking the reader to speak a greeting. Solia, early first century AD
Photo: Centro CIL II (*Catalogue C62*)

2 LUPUS CA
MALI TAP(orus)
ANN XX
XV H S E
T R P D S
T T L

Here lies Lupus Taporus, son of Camalus, who lived 35 years. I ask you in passing to say: May the earth lie lightly on you! *(Catalogue C62; Fig 4)*

These particular abbreviations were so common in Baetican cemeteries that we must assume, I think, that they were indeed understood locally. This might well have involved the reading of such abbreviations and word fragments as 'pictograms', whereby one imagined the complete words and uttered them aloud whilst reading the single letters. Clearly the environment and the context in which particular inscriptions were set up were important in helping the reader to understand a text and possible abbreviations in it. D Q L S T T L or T R P D S T T L, for example, is a combination of words peculiar to the environment of a cemetery; it would never be encountered 'out of context' in a building inscription or a votive dedication. The contexts here give visual clues. General cognition of a text and

Fig. 5 A series of very similar tombs built between the Augustan and Neronian periods outside the Porta Nocera at Pompeii *Photo: author*

its meaning, therefore, may not have been necessarily dependent on the ability to read (Franklin 1991: 86).

The frequency and repetitiveness with which particular formulae or abbreviations were used will also have increased the ability of people to decipher lapidary writing. In the context of the cemetery, repetition is especially common, as people built their tombs in emulation of other monuments in the same cemetery, settlement or region. One glance at a series of tombs on the north side of the road outside the Porta Nocera at Pompeii makes this abundantly clear (Fig. 5). A passage in the *Digest* (35.1.27), for example, refers to a man who wrote in his will that he wished to have a monument "like that of Publius Septimius Demetrius on the Via Salaria" (in Rome) which was "the model (*exemplum*) for his own memorial". Texts repeated over and over again in the same community clearly testify to the practice of using specific inscriptions as *exempla*. In the island community of Palma, for example, 13 of the total assemblage of 26 gravestones relevant to this discussion contain a greeting, 12 of them including *vale* or have *et vale* in their message (*Catalogue* C92-104). In a discrete and intimate community such as that of a columbarium the influence of epitaphs on each other might be even greater. Epitaphs in the Monumentum Statiliorum outside Rome, for example, make regular use of the *ave/salve/vale* greeting, because they were all modelled on each other (*Catalogue* A21; A22; A23; A24). There is a sense of 'sameness' and 'conformity' here. Ramsay MacMullen (1982) drew attention to the "sense of audience" that epigraphic texts displayed in public places in general elicited. In the context of funerary commemoration, this was an immediate, local audience involving people who saw the tombs often and who understood and responded to the language of the tombs and what it represented visually and ideologically. The conventions of form and the funerary context granted the stones a fundamental comprehensibility (Koortbojian 1996: 219).

Inscriptions also played an active role in the reproduction and negotiation of social status and relations, and a study of the 'speaking' stones allows us to recognise trends in the social class and standing of the commissioners and recipients of these monuments. In Rome the majority of those named in these epitaphs appear to be freedmen (53%), followed by free-born individuals with 15% and slaves with 13%; 18% could be either *free-*

born or *freedmen*. The fact that freedmen dominate in the body of 'speaking' stones, and in funerary epitaphs in general, reflects the desire of members of this sector of society to seek legitimacy through funerary display, a phenomenon that has been noted in several studies on commemoration (Taylor 1961; Treggiari 1969; Heinzelmann 2000: 104; Hope 2001: 34-35; Carroll 2006: 247–53). The high percentage of slaves and freedmen in Rome and its port towns is not matched elsewhere in the empire, and this sector of society, as a result, is not so strongly represented in funerary commemoration outside the capital and its periphery. The surviving 'speaking' stones indicate that in the rest of Italy free-born individuals are in the majority with 35%, followed by freedmen and freedwomen (32%), 22% individuals of uncertain status, and about 10% slaves. Free-born individuals dominate in the Iberian peninsula with 40%, followed by freedmen (28%), individuals of unknown status (18%) and slaves (14%). The proportion of epitaphs of free-born individuals is considerably higher in Germany (54%), Africa (54%), North-East Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean (53%), and Gaul (46%).

None of the commissioners of the 'speaking' stones is of very high social rank, and certainly none is of senatorial status. The highest ranking free-born individuals are a man who had risen to equestrian status in Madaura, an *aedilis*, *duumvir* and *flamen* of Liber Pater in the same city, and an aedilis from Beneventum (*Catalogue* G33; G36; B45). All are self-commemorating. The *decurio* Publius Hostilius Tertinus of Verona was the dedicator of his son's inscription, and a *decurio* and *flamen* from Colonia Apulum in Dacia is named as the dedicator of a monument to his freedwoman wife (*Catalogue* B11; F23). Lower ranking free-born individuals include a crier and theatre usher from Aquinum (*Catalogue* B107), priests from Gades and Zarai (*Catalogue* C43; G25), a ship-builder from Arelate (*Catalogue* D8), a paymaster from Florentia (*Catalogue* B136), a surgeon from Lucus (*Catalogue B65*), a doctor from Vietri (*Catalogue* B79), a slave dealer from Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (*Catalogue* E19), and a gladiator from Corduba (*Catalogue* C55). The free-born, especially in Germany, North-East Europe, and Africa, also include actively serving and retired soldiers of the lower ranks and NCOs (trumpeter, water engineer, centurion) (*Catalogue* A105; C16; C106; E12; E17; F13; F17; F33; F34; F42; F45; G19). Parents who were once slaves take the opportunity to commemorate their free-born children who, unlike the parents, were socially acceptable. Thus, a free-born *aedilis* and *duumvir* at Vitolano was the recipient of an inscription commissioned by his freedman father (*Catalogue* B51). The freedmen class commissioning 'speaking' inscriptions include merchants and craftsmen, an architect, poets, several priests of the imperial cult (*seviri augustales*), and a livestock breeder (*pecuarius*) (*Catalogue* A35; B155; B156; B162; B163; B164; B165; C92; E14). Finally, slaves as well as imperial slaves are represented on 'speaking' stones throughout the Empire (*Catalogue* A39; A107; C25; E16; F9; F41; G9).

We cannot be sure how many of these individuals were literate, although we can safely assume that at least the magistrates and soldiers (especially the officers) were. In Roman art, scenes of men and women writing or keeping accounts or holding book scrolls is an image chosen to suggest or convey the impression that the depicted individual was educated and well versed in reading and writing and also entitled to draw up a will. Similarly, the act of setting up a monument with an inscription may have been a symbolic one that acknowledged the power and status attached to appearing to be literate, whether or not the person in possession of an epitaph truly had the ability to write or read the text himself. A recent study of another body of writing in a different medium—inscriptions on mosaics and paintings – in Roman Britain also clearly demonstrated the social importance of appearing to be educated (Ling 2007). In some ways, the owners of monuments with texts may have been displaying their intellectual pretensions and playing with the literate abilities of their audience (Koortbojian 1996: 218). This certainly appears to be the case with a number of inscriptions that are inscribed with a sort of word game that required an ability to read and solve a puzzle. In one epitaph of this type set up in the second century AD by Trebius Basileus in Rome the deceased plays with the text to attract the reader's attention to his wife's name: "Touched from the very first word behold the verses on this inscription, I beg you, and read them willingly if you want to know the name of someone who deserved it. You

will find the name of my dear wife"[S8] (*Catalogue* A94). Her name is not written in the text, but as an acrostic, the first letter of each line giving one letter of her name, Veturia Grata.[3]

EPIGRAPHS AND EPIGRAMS

It is important to ask how much of the desired dialogue at the grave-side can be attributed to the selectors of the text – the deceased, or their families – particularly considering the issue of literacy. Harris (1989: 222) credits the skilled mason with having contributed to the formulation of the text of an epitaph, but there were many different ways of composing an epitaph. It could be composed by the dedicator himself; he could dictate a text that he knew from poetry; he could select from a collection the letter-cutter had; he could choose a ready-made stone from the workshop; or a combination of all of these. As we have seen above, the customer also could be inspired by epitaphs he had seen on other funerary monuments in his community, choosing a text that conformed to local practice.

According to numerous epitaphs, the verse inscription to be cut might be composed by the deceased or later by a relative, friend, or patron. Alexander, a doctor in Rome, credited his wife with having composed his epitaph[S9], and a man from Carsulae[S10] named himself the composer of an epitaph for his wife.[4] A man from Tusculum[S11] in the second century AD asks the passer-by to read his inscription, in particular to read the "verse that I dictated and had written down" (*Catalogue* B178). Lucius Praecilius Fortunatus, in making provisions for his death in Cirta in the third century, also wrote his own inscription.[5] Antigonus Vitalis, an imperial slave from Carthage[S12] who set up his own tomb and wrote his own epitaph advised the viewer to do the same and to "set up your tomb while you are alive, if you are smart" (*Catalogue* G9). The centenarian Titus Flavius Pudens[S13], a father and grandfather from Numidian Madaura, claimed to have written his epitaph for the benefit of his descendants.[6] This practice of composing epitaphs for oneself or others continued into late antiquity. Sidonius Apollinaris wrote to his nephew around AD 467, asking him to have a new stone slab inscribed for the tomb of Sidonius' grandfather. The verse inscription to be used was composed by Sidonius himself (*Ep*. 3.12; Handley 2003: 25–6).

In many cases the components of epitaphs will have been taken by the letter-cutter from manuals or collections of formulae or books of poetry. This is the only explanation for the inscription from Annaba that reads *hic iacet corpus pueri nominandi* (here lies the body of the boy…. insert name) (*AE* 1931: 112). The letter-cutter carried out his work without noticing that he was to insert a specific name in the space provided. The use of manuals or collections of poetic themes is also supported by the existence of identical, or almost identical, verses inscribed on monuments that were found in different places. Thus we have an inscription of a retired Praetorian guardsman dating to shortly after AD 29 in Rome that has the same verses as a roughly contemporary one for a legionary soldier in Dalmatian Burnum, and there is also an epitaph in Tarraco that is identical to that on another stone of the second century in Rome.[7]

Literature also may have played a role in the dispersal of epitaph texts (Lissberger 1934; Hoogma 1959; Cugusi 1996). Earlier Greek epitaphs speaking to the traveller or stranger inspired a literary genre that was both popular in Hellenistic Greece and influential in Roman funerary epigraphy. This was the Greek sepulchral epigram, collections of which were compiled in the Roman period and are known to us as the *Anthologia Graeca* (Paton 1916-1918; Beckby 1965-68). But Latin epitaphs copied from tombs also found their way into literary collections of epigrams. Similarities exist between epigrams in such collections and the texts actually found inscribed on tombs, as the two following examples illustrate.[8]

Aulus Gellius (*NA* 1.24.4) recorded the epitaph of the poet Pacuvius (died 130 BC). His epitaph is of the type that speaks to the reader:

ADULESCENS TAM ETSI PROPERAS TE HOC SAXUM ROGAT
UT SESE ASPICIAS DEINDE QUOD SCRIPTUM EST LEGAS
HIC SUNT POETAE PACUVI MARCI SITA
OSSA HOC VOLEBAM NESCITUS NE ESSES VALE

> Young man, although you hurry, this stone asks that you look upon it and read what is written there. Here lie the bones of the poet Marcus Pacuvius. I wished that you should not be unaware of this. Fare well!

A very similar version of the text actually was used for the marble tablet of a funerary monument in Rome that dates to the late second century BC (*Catalogue* A13).

> ADULESCENS TAM ET SI PROPERAS
> HIC TE SAXSOLUS ROGAT UT SE
> ASPICIAS DEINDE UT QUOD SCRIPTUM EST
> LEGAS HIC SUNT OSSA MAECI LUCI SITA
> PILOTIMI VASCULARI HOC EGO VOLEBAM
> NESCIUS NI ESSES VALE
>
> Young man, although you hurry, this little stone asks that you look upon it and read what is written there. Here lie the bones of Maecus Lucius P(h)ilotimus, a maker of table-wares. I wished that you should not be unaware of this. Fare well!

The epitaph of Pacuvius was supposedly composed by the writer himself, but it is unclear whether he really composed the text in the late second century BC, or whether later authors invented it. Equally, the text could have been borrowed from contemporary Latin inscriptions on actual funerary monuments. Catullus in *Carmen* 101 expresses sentiments and uses phrases in the first century BC that are familiar in funerary verses. He writes of speaking to the ashes of his brother at the grave-side, weeping copiously there, and taking leave of his brother by saying "hail and farewell" (*ave atque vale*). Certainly Propertius, in describing grave-side scenes in his *Elegies*, seems to be quoting from the epitaphs of contemporary funerary monuments in the late first century BC. He speaks of the verbal greeting "may the earth lie lightly on you", for example, and he has Maecenas pass his grave, asking him to stop, shed a tear, and say a few words in tribute to the dead poet (1.17.24, 2.1.75-78).[9] Martial

Fig. 6 Inscribed grave altar of Claudia Homonoea asking the viewer to stop and read the words written on the stone, Rome, mid-first century AD (*Catalogue* A46). The epitaph concludes (not shown) with a command to the reader to greet the dead verbally *Photo: author*

also wrote epigrams that appear to have been based on contemporary funerary monuments in the late first century AD, some of which containing passages such as "you that read these lines, give tears to my tomb"[S14], or "hastening to weep, you must not here complain of life's short span"[S15], and other expressions familiar in funerary epigraphy (5.34, 6.76, 7.96, 9.29, 10.60, 10.71, 11.91). His thirteenth epigram has in common with the earlier cited epitaph of Gnaeus Gargonius Pallinus from Fulginium (*Catalogue* B161) that the reader of the text is envisaged as someone travelling on the Via Flaminia (*quisquis Flaminiam teris, viator*…). At any rate, collections of Greek and Latin epigrams deriving from funerary monuments easily could have been in the possession of stonemasons or been consulted by those who wanted to commission a funerary inscription.

ADDRESSING THE READER

The focus of this study are those Latin inscriptions that call out to the reader and instrumentalise him as a participant in a dialogue, and here we can now explore these inscriptions more fully. The viewer, who can be a traveller (*viator*), stranger (*hospes*), or passer-by (*praeteriens*), is addressed, asked to stop, read and reflect on the brief or lengthy details of the dead person's life, and to utter a spoken greeting to the person whose name the stone preserves before he resumes his journey (as examples: *Catalogue* A35; A37; A44; A55; C65; C86; C106; E17; G20; G21).[10] Seventy percent of the 554 epitaphs under discussion have this structure (Fig. 6). This format ultimately has its origins in Archaic and Classical Greece, as is evident by texts on gravestones such as "Greetings, passer-by! I lie low in death. Come and read who of men is buried here…".[11] Perhaps the most famous of the Greek memorial inscriptions that 'spoke' to the stranger is the one that was composed by the lyric poet Simonides of Keos and put up to commemorate the Spartans who were killed to the last man by the Persians at Thermopylae in 480 BC: "Tell the Spartans, passer-by, here, obediently, we lie" (Herodotus 7.228)[S16]. This kind of inscription persisted in the Greek-speaking world well into the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and it was clearly a major source of inspiration for the Latin epitaphs of the kind discussed here. Unlike in the Greek world, however, Roman 'speaking' stones using this device are far more widespread geographically and they do not appear to have been the type of monument chosen by the elite.

One of the earliest speaking epitaphs in Rome, dating to the late second or early first century BC, is that of Olus Granius (*Catalogue* A1). It addresses the stranger and relays a few details about the life and character of the deceased.

ROGAT ET RESISTAS HOSPES T[e] HIC TACITUS LAPIS
DUM OSTENDIT QUOD MANDAUIT QUOIUS UMBRAM TE[git]
PUDENTIS HOMINIS FRUGI CUM MAGNA FIDE
PRECONIS OLI GRANI SUNT OSSA HEIC SITA
TANTUM EST HOC VOLUIT NESCIUS NE ESSES VALE
A GRANIUS M L STABILIO
PRAECO

This mute stone asks you, stranger, to stop so it can reveal what has been entrusted to it by him whose shadow it covers. The bones of a chaste, careful and very loyal man, the auctioneer Olus Granius, are buried here. That is all. I wished that you should not be unaware of this. Farewell! Aulus Granius Stabilio, freedman of Marcus, auctioneer.

Another early speaking stone dates to the late second century BC, and it adorned the tomb of Marcus Caicilius (Fig. 7) on the Via Appia outside Rome (*Catalogue* A8). We learn nothing about Caicilius, apart from the fact that he was clearly concerned to have his epitaph read by strangers.

Fig. 7 Epitaph of Marcus Caicilius addressing the stranger, Rome, late second century BC (*Catalogue A8*) *Photo: author*

HOC EST FACTUM MONUMENTUM
MAARCO CAICILIO
HOSPES GRATUM EST QUOM APUD
MEAS RESTITISTEI SEEDES
BENE REM GERAS ET VALEAS
DORMIAS SINE QURA

This is the completed monument of Marcus Caicilius. I thank you, stranger, that you stop and linger near my dwelling for a while. May you live well, be happy and sleep without a care.

Here we have, already fully developed, the classic structure of such speaking stones in Latin that, with some variations, continued in use throughout the Imperial period.

Occasionally the text of the early epitaphs dismisses the reader rather abruptly once he has read the message. The epitaph of Claudia in Rome asks the stranger in the late second century BC to stop and read, but once that has been done, he is told: "That's it. Now, go!" (*dici abei*)(*Catalogue* A9). Manlia Sabina's epitaph in Trebula Mutuesca dismisses the reader with "Now go, stranger, live! Death will come"[S17] (*Catalogue* B70). From the early first century BC, however, inscriptions addressing the reader begin to expect him not simply to read the text and then leave, but to engage actively with the dead before moving on. They can conclude with a request or a plea that the reader say, in parting, "may the earth lie lightly on you!" (*sit tibi terra levis*) (*Catalogue* A5). Latin funerary inscriptions with the *sit tibi terra levis* formula, either written in full or abbreviated S T T L, have a wide distribution throughout the empire. A few examples will suffice here to illustrate their format on the 'speaking' stones.

EUCHARIS LICINIAE L
DOCTA ERODITA OMNES ARTES VIRGO VIXIT AN XIIII
HEUS OCCULO ERRANTE QUEI ASPICIS LETI DOMUS
MORARE GRESSUM ET TITULUM NOSTRUM PERLEGE…
ROGO UT DISCEDENS TERRAM MIHI DICAS LEVEM

Eucharis, freedwoman of Licinia, learned, skilled in all the arts, a virgin, who lived 14 years. You whose eye has happened upon this house of death, linger a little bit, behold and read our inscription……I ask you in parting to say that the earth may rest lightly on me

(*Catalogue* A7)

DIS MANIBUS
ABASCANTUS CAESAR(is) N(ostri) SER(vus) VILIC
FORTUNATAE CONIUGI BENE MERENTI FECIT VIX(it) ANNIS XXX
QUISQUE MEUM TIT
ULUM STAT
LEGERIT ET
DICIT SIT TIBI TERRA LEVIS

To the spirits of the dead. Abascantus, slave of our emperor, overseer, set this up for his deserving wife Fortunata, who lived 30 years. Whoever stops and reads my inscription, say: May the earth lie lightly on you (*Catalogue* B109)

C CAMERIUS
CLARANUS
MENSUM XI H S E
TE ROGO PRAETERIENS
DICAS STTL

Gaius Camerius Claranus. He lived 11 months. Here he lies. I ask you, in passing, to say: May the earth lie lightly on you (*Catalogue* C5)

The 'speaking' stones are often melancholic, especially when they commemorate the life of someone who died too young. They sometimes depict the deceased as resigned to his fate, however regrettable, but they are very rarely sarcastic or bitter.[12] However they all depict the deceased as desperate to be remembered and to communicate with someone. Lattimore (1942: 243) sensed their "almost frantic reaching out for some connection with the living". Perhaps for that reason the traveller was often cajoled, begged, bribed, tricked or threatened into stopping and reading the text, as one could not rely on the natural curiosity of the viewer. Offering rest and relaxation was one method of catching the reader's attention. He is asked not to "be in such a hurry, take some time, stop and read…" by the text of an epitaph in Rome[S18] (*Catalogue* A2). Tired, dusty and thirsty, he is enticed to slow down, rest and read the epitaph of Publius Atinius, set up at Val Bona in northern Italy[S19] (*Catalogue* B22). An epitaph from Hispellum invites him to "rest in the green grass. Don't hurry away when death begins to talk to you"[S20] (*Catalogue* B149). The twenty-four-year-old Gaius Clodius Paulinus from Forum Livium asks: "When you are passing by here, rest for a little while. Why are you in such a hurry? No time is lost if you read…I beseech you, read gladly, and read again; don't let this get you down, my friend!"[S21] (*Catalogue* B126).

Being thanked and offered a reward was another incentive for a passer-by to read an inscription. The family of Titus Flavius Secundus in Cillium wished the reader of the epitaph on their second-century mausoleum many happy years and all good things (*Catalogue* G3). The parents of the two-year-old Marcus Aurelius Donatus in Rome composed an inscription that blessed the reader: "Live, stay healthy, give and receive love until your fated day!" (*Catalogue* A49)[S22]. An epitaph of the first century AD from Brindisium wished the stranger well, and closed with the hope that there may always "be money in your bag, if you do not despise this stone, but rather value it!" (*Catalogue* B39)[S23].

Curiosity is aroused by posing questions or tasks to the reader, as is the case with an epitaph of the first century BC from Eporedia: "Stranger, stop and behold this tomb…You ask what name? Here it comes: Salvia! Live, stranger, hopefully happier than me" (*Catalogue* B31)[S24]. A Milanese epitaph hopes to arouse the interest of the reader: "If you ask whose bones lie in this grave, read these little verses. It will be revealed to you shortly" (*Catalogue* B23)[S25]. "Whoever is curious and wants to know" about the deceased could do so by reading the second-century epitaph of Gellia Mammosa in Madaura (*Catalogue* G34)[S26]. Two adolescents are commemorated in an epitaph in Rome with: "Whoever you are, traveller, fix your gaze on this poor sight and read what name is contained in this epitaph" (*Catalogue* A44)[S27]. There is

a remarkable inscription of this type on the tomb of the freedman Publius Vesonius Phileros in Pompeii (*Catalogue* B120). After Phileros erected this mausoleum for himself, his patroness Vesonia and his friend Marcus Orfellius Faustus in the second quarter of the first century AD, Phileros and Faustus clearly fell out with each other. Phileros then went to the trouble of attaching a secondary inscription to denounce his former friend and vent his anger for all to see (Fig. 8):

Fig. 8 Secondary inscription attached to the tomb of Publius Vesonius Phileros whose text denouncing his friend is addressed to the "stranger", Pompeii, first half first century AD *(Catalogue B120)* *Photo: author*

HOSPES PAULLISPER MORARE
SI NON EST MOLESTUM ET QUID EVITES
COGNOSCE AMICUM HUNC QUEM
SPERAVERAM MI ESSE AB EO MIHI ACCUSATO
RES SUBIECTI ET IUDICIA INSTAURATA DEIS
GRATIAS AGO ET MEAE INNOCENTIAE OMNI
MOLESTIA LIBERATUS SUM QUI NOSTRUM MENTITUR
EUM NEC DI PENATES NEC INFERI RECIPIANT

Stranger, stay a little, if it is not too much trouble and learn what to avoid. This man whom I had hoped was my friend, I am forsaking: a case was maliciously brought against me; I was charged and legal proceedings were instituted; I gave thanks to the gods and to my innocence, I was freed from all distress. May neither the household gods nor the gods below receive the one who misrepresented our affairs.

Many texts attempt to make the reader feel pity, particularly those on the numerous stones that were set up for individuals whose death appeared tragic. Lucius Caesennius Magnus set up such a stele to his young daughter in Volsinii: "Traveller, if you read this wondering what this place is, wanting to know what this is all about, read my inscription and learn about a wonderful girl whom fate robbed of life" (*Catalogue* B140)[S28]. The reader is often asked to read and "see how little life granted me" or "how short a time was given me to live", and in sympathy he is asked to shed tears (*Catalogue* A33; A52; A59; A69; A91; B100; B104; B135; B148; C60; E20). The child Nome from Hispalis is to be pitied, and the reader of her epitaph who "feels even a little for the life described here" is asked to say "May the earth lie lightly on you!" (*Catalogue* C22)[S29].

The gravestone of the twenty-eight-year-old Paulla, set up by her father in Mogontiacum in the first century AD, reads: "Stranger, if you want to know the circumstances of this grave, read this, because the cause of death was a sad one" (*Catalogue* E 15; Fig. 9). These circumstances, unfortunately, are not explained in the remaining inscription.

More information on the sufferings of a young chariot racer in Spain is contained in his epitaph of the second century AD in Tarraco: "Searing pains burned all my inner organs and

[*excerpt*]
H S E
(h)OSPES SI VACU(u)M
EST TUMULI COG
NOSCERE CASSUS
PERLEGE NAM MO
RTIS CAUSSA
DOLENDA FUUIT
(Catalogue E15)

Fig. 9 Epitaph of Paulla with a tale of woe addressed to the "traveller" and asking any "young man" passing by for a verbal greeting, Mainz, first half first century AD (*Cat. E15*)
Photo: Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Mainz

no healing hand could save me". His epitaph concludes with a plea: "Traveller, I beg you to toss flowers on my grave!" (*Catalogue* C108)[S29]. As late as the fifth century epitaphs attempt to evoke pity. Iulius Victor's epitaph of 434 AD from Mechera-Sfa says: "Read and grieve!" (*Catalogue* G53).

The reader also could be advised by the deceased. The epitaph of the shipbuilder Quintus Caelius from Ausonia urges: "Stranger, stop and if it is not too much trouble read. Do not annoy yourself. I advise you to drink mulled wine! Death is your fate. Farewell!" (*Catalogue* B106)[S30]. An epitaph in Puteoli encourages the reader to live life to the fullest, "because death is swiftly approaching!" (*Catalogue* B90)[S31]. Pompeius Catussa, a builder in Lugdunum, offers the following rather melancholic advice in the third century AD: "You who read this, go bathe in the baths of Apollo, as I used to do with my wife. I wish I still could" (*Catalogue* E2)[S32]. The funerary inscription of the forty-five-year-old soldier Titus Flaminius who served in the first century AD in the fourteenth legion at Wroxeter instructs the visitor as follows: "I did my service, and now am here. Read this and be either more or less fortunate in your lifetime. The gods prohibit you from the wine-grape and water when you enter Tartarus. Live honourably while your star grants you time for life'" (*Catalogue* H1)[S33]. Flavius Agricola in Rome addressed the visitor through his third-century epitaph: "Friends, who read this, listen to my advice: mix wine, tie the garlands around your head, drink deep. And do not deny pretty girls the sweets of love. When death comes, earth and fire consume everything" (*Catalogue* A57)[S34].

The passer-by who did not stop to read the inscription was deemed to have shown a lack of respect, and could be threatened. The epitaph of a group of freedmen in Capena reads: "Hail traveller, come here and rest a little. You refuse and say no? You'll have to come back here anyway!" (*Catalogue* B141)[S35]. Here the text refers not only the traveller's return journey, but also his inevitable death and burial in a similar tomb. The epitaph of Gaius Pirrius in Mandela hopes that "whoever hurrying by sees our inscription saying something good or

bad, may he experience the same!" (*Catalogue* B179)[S36]. If damage is done to the tomb, the epitaph can curse the desecrator. Gaius Maenius Cimber hoped that he who did no harm in the first century AD to his tomb in Rome might rest in peace, "but whoever damages this grave may he be received neither by the heavenly gods nor the infernal gods and may the earth lie heavily on him!" (*Catalogue* A27)[S37].

Having attracted the attention of the passer-by, the owner of the inscription could rely on his text being read and on it prompting the reader to respond to its sentiments and commands. The response of the reader involved voiced communication, as the following texts make clear.

UTTERING SOUNDS AND LISTENING TO VOICES

In Roman antiquity, people could and did read silently in some situations, especially if they were dealing with documents such as books and letters (Knox 1968; Gavrilov 1997; Burnyeat 1997; contra Balogh 1927). Voicing the words in this context might have been perceived as "a distraction to thought" (Burnyeat 1997: 75), but this certainly did not apply to reading inscriptions. In fact, voicing the words and reading aloud was essential to them. One might say, with Bodel (2001: 16), that inscriptions engendered and activated speech. The cemetery, unlike perhaps a library, a study, or a private room, was not a place for quiet reflection, rather it was a busy place visited by the living on all manner of occasions. It was a public place, like the forum, and like the forum it was a place where texts were read aloud. The 'speaking' stones offer a particularly strong reason to read them aloud because the name of the deceased is thereby spoken and the reader assumes the voice of the deceased.

Because inscriptions clearly were read aloud with regularity, funerary texts are a particularly fruitful arena for investigating the issue of voiced communication in writing and the relationship between orality and literacy. Svenbro (1988), in his study on ancient reading, clearly demonstrated how reading aloud was an integral part of the text in Archaic and Classical Greece. Although the writer, or he who had commissioned the writing, had disappeared after his words were inscribed in stone, these words were given voice later by the reader. According to Svenbro, the writer "depends on the voice that the reader will lend him" (1988: 45). There are numerous Roman epitaphs that make it perfectly clear that reading the text involved speaking the words. The stone thus speaks in place of the deceased, as we can see in the case of an Ostian epitaph of the third century, cited at the beginning of this paper, that begins "I, who speak without a voice by means of the inscribed marble" (*Catalogue* B166)[S38]. But more important is the idea that the reader's vocalisation of the words is not just for himself, but that this (temporarily) returns the power of speech to the deceased. The third-century epitaph of Lucius Claudius Rufinus from Lugdunum is explicit in expressing this relationship between written and spoken words: "And since the letters on the stone preserve my voice, so will (Claudius Rufinus) live on through your voice when you, whoever you might be, read these lines" (*Catalogue* E5)[S39]. An even clearer demonstration of the importance of voiced recitation is provided by an epitaph from Ostia that says to the traveller: "Your voice is really my voice" (*vox tua nempe mea est*) (*Catalogue* B163). Here it would appear that the reader has relinquished his own voice. Reference is made to the inscription taking on the role of "our voice" in a lengthy epitaph from the family tomb of the Flavii in Cillium (*Catalogue* G3). In this case, the reader and the deceased seem to share a voice, but, in reality, the voice belongs to the reader alone.

Viewers of the monuments sometimes are asked to 'listen' to the text on them, in the sense that the words can be heard when someone reads them aloud. The epitaph of Titus Cocceius Gaa and Titus Cocceius Patiens from the Via Labicana in Rome lists the various adornments that were added to the tomb in AD 16, then concludes by addressing the reader: "The reason for this expense you will read in the inscription, listen, I beg you" (*Catalogue* A15)[S40]. The funerary inscription of Gaius Clodius Paulinus from Forum Livium asks: "Listen to him who lives on in your speech, who speaks in your soft voice" (*Catalogue* B126)[S41].

An epitaph of the second century AD from Interpromium asks: "Stranger, when you are passing by I ask you to stop and linger and see whose shadow is covered. Listen for a little while" (*Catalogue* B54)[S42]. Cocceia Thallusa was commemorated by her husband in Puteoli, and he chose the following text: "Whoever reads this inscription wanting to know whose name this is…you are asked to listen" (*Catalogue* B89)[S43]. A fragmentary funerary inscription from Antipolis also refers to the sound of reading: "listen, if you please" (*Catalogue* D3)[S44]. The third-century epitaph from Sulmo cited earlier demonstrated very clearly how the deceased counted on the presence of someone who "read, or listened to one reading, the inscription" (*Catalogue* B57)[S45]. In any case, the inscribed text provoked a reading and a rendering in sound through the voice of the reader. The survival of the memory of the deceased thus required active participation by the viewer in a dialogue with the deceased, the inscribed text acting as the vocal medium.

I would argue that the same applies to epitaphs found throughout the Roman empire from the first century BC that contain simple greetings at the beginning or end of the text. These make up 30% of the 'speaking' stones. The words used in this context are *have, ave, salve,* and *vale* (as examples: *Catalogue* A3; A76; A107; B40; B72; B113; B125; B133; B151; B152; C19; C74). The following few inscriptions illustrate the format of these texts.

HOSPES R[esi]STE NISI MOLE(s)TUS[t]
PERSPICE MONUMENTUM QU[od]
SIBI PUBLIUS PUBLI GRANIUS
SIBI ET SUEI(s) QUE VIVOS FECIT
EUHODUS TURARIUS
SALVE VALE

Stranger, stop, and if it is not too much trouble, behold this monument which Publius Granius, son of Publius, made for himself and his while alive, Euhodus Turarius, Greetings! Farewell! (*Catalogue* B119)

MINUCIA N F
MAIOR SALVE

Minucia Maior, daughter of Numerius. Greetings! (*Catalogue* A11)

P VERGILIUS P L
SAMNIS HIC SITUS
EST AVE ET VALE

Here lies Publius Vergilius Samnis, freedman of Publius. Greetings and farewell! (*Catalogue* C84)

Who is actually extending these greetings? Lattimore, in discussing them in Greek epitaphs, thought they "might be addressed either to the passing stranger or to the dead" (1942: 232).[13] However, when we imagine the reader of the text vocalising the words, it is clearly he, as the living participant in the dialogue, who is hailing the deceased. Indeed explicit in soliciting a spoken greeting is the text of an epitaph from Aquileia that reads: "Greetings, traveller! You who pass by and read, say: Farewell!" (*Catalogue* B3)[S46]. Similar sentiments are expressed in a consular dated epitaph of AD 180 from Vardagate: "Greetings and may you fare well, whoever you are traveller, and do not neglect to greet me before you go!" (*Catalogue* B36)[S47]. In some cases, the words provide a reciprocal dialogue in that the deceased is greeted and he and is seen to return these greetings. This type of exchange can be seen in the first century AD, for example, in the epitaph of Statilius Parra from the columbarium of the Statilii in Rome: "Farewell to you and to you too" (*tu vale et tu*) (*Catalogue* A24).[14] The deceased and the speaker have active roles in epitaphs such as that set up for Caelia Clauce in Ostia (*Catalogue* B167). Here the text reads: *Clauce / habe vene valeas / qui me salutas* (Greetings Clauce! And you who greet me, fare well!). The first greeting is spoken by the reader and it is addressed to Clauce, the second is imagined as coming from the dead woman, but it is the voice of the reader who gives her life.

VII NAMES, RITUAL AND MAGIC

Although names appear regularly and prominently in all types of Roman inscriptions, names on tombstones were particularly important, as they preserved the identity of the deceased (Woolf 1996, 28-29; Beard 1991, 46–8). Occasionally the epitaph on a Roman funerary monument says that the body of the deceased is held by the earth, the name by the stone, and the soul by the air.[15] A freedman buried in the second century in northern Italy was commemorated in Tusculum at the same time by a cenotaph, the text[S48] on which tells us, in the freedman's words, "in Pollentia…there is my altar, my name, and my grave".[16] All that remained of a person who once lived were the gravestone and the name, or at least that is what an epitaph in Rome expressed.[17] Pliny the Younger (*Ep*. 9.19.3) thought it perfectly understandable that anyone "through the very words of his epitaph seeks to perpetuate the undying glory of his name". The preservation of the name was of extreme importance, as otherwise the deceased was doomed to oblivion. For that reason, epitaphs attempted to ensure that "the name of the family is not lost" or that "there is no loss of the name" (*Catalogue* D16).[18] For Propertius (3.1.24)[S49], "a man's name sounds greater on people's lips" after he had died and been buried, indicating that to speak of the dead by name aided in the preservation and elevation of that person's memory.

The name of the deceased is sometimes connected with a greeting such as *have, ave* or *salve*. In epitaphs beginning with "Greetings Argentius" (*Argenti have*) or "Greetings Pudens" (*have Pudens*), for example, the name of the deceased is called out explicitly (*Catalogue* A36; B17). An inscription[S50] of the first century AD from Mantua contains the instructions "now, traveller, read the name in my epitaph", and a text[S51] of the same period in Carthago Nova begins by asking the stranger not only to stop and read, but to "stop and read the name of Thorax…" (*Catalogue* B15l; C86; Fig. 10). The interaction between the inscription and the voice of the reader renders crucial the command to pronounce the name of the deceased aloud. This dialogue is articulated "around a command and its execution", with the result that a mute name is given an "expression in sound" (Svenbro 1988: 61). Some of the

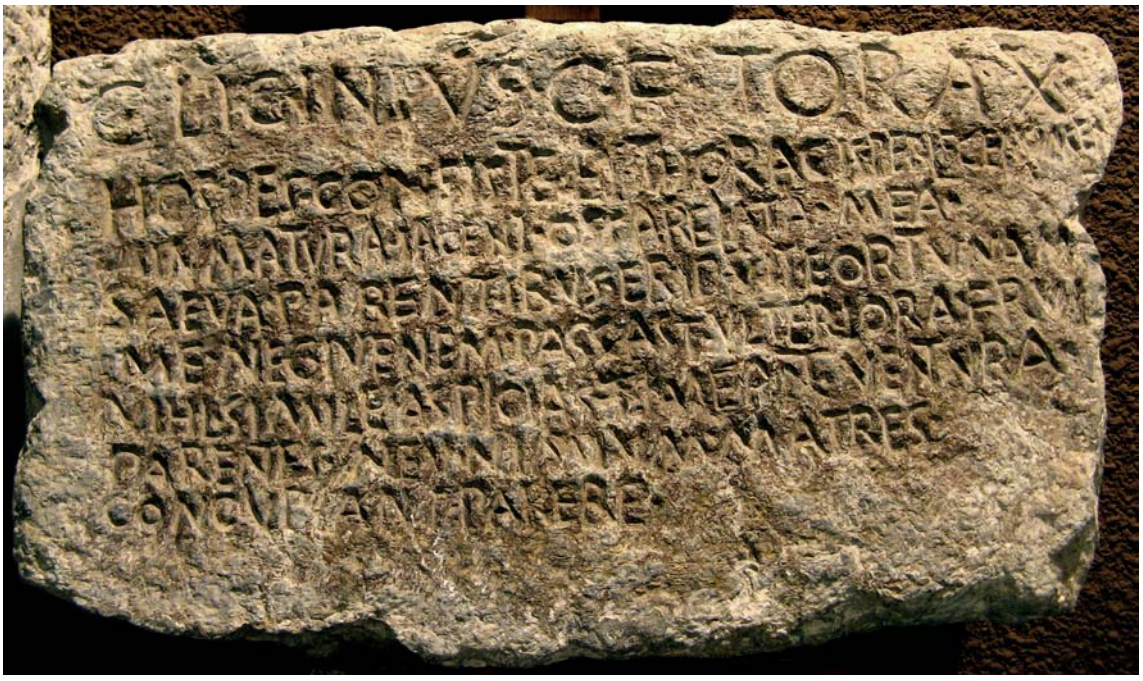

Fig. 10 Epitaph of Gaius Licinius Thorax, asking the "stranger" to stop and read his name, Cartagena, late first century AD (*Catalogue C86*)[S51] *Photo: Museo Arqueológico Municipal, Cartagena*

'speaking' epitaphs conclude with the command that the deceased be called by name by the reader, meaning that the voiced greeting to the dead was the last act performed before taking leave of the tomb. A few examples from various locations are reproduced here.

. . . TU Q(ui) [p]RAE
[ter]IS E[t] TITULOS MEOS LEGUERIS [dic]
AVE AMANDE ERIT TIBI VITA LONGA
. . . You who pass by and read my inscription, (and say) 'Hail, Amandus', will have a long life (*Catalogue G39*)

. . . (h)OSPES
QUI CASUS LEGISTI
NOSTROS ET PRECOR
UT DICAS SIT TIBI
RODINE TER(r)A LEVIS
. . . , read our fate and reflect and please say: Rodine, may the earth lie lightly on you! (*Catalogue E16*; Fig. 11)

. . . SI QUI
PRAETERIENS LE
GERIS PETO DICAS
MANILIA DULCIS
SIT TIBI TERRA
LEVIS
. . .You who pass by and read this I beseech you to say: Manilia, sweet woman, may the earth lie lightly on you! (*Catalogue G20*)

Fig. 11 Funerary inscription of Rodine, asking the "traveller" to read and greet Rodine by name, Mainz, early first century AD *(Catalogue E16)*
. . . (h)OSPES
QUI CASUS LEGISTI
NOSTROS ET PRECOR
UT DICAS SIT TIBI
RODINE TER(r)A LEVIS . . .

Photo: Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Mainz

The act of speaking to, with or about the dead whilst stopping and contemplating the tomb was instrumental in prolonging the memory of the departed. Roman literature also alludes to verbal refrains, uttered prayers and tributes spoken at the grave in response to the text on the monument. Propertius, for example, gave an angry warning to his estranged mistress Cynthia that the traveller would pass by her grave, unheeding, and never say "This dust was a learned maid"[S52](2.11.5–6).[19] Cynthia herself he envisages as "crying out his name over his ashes"[S53] and "calling back his silent shade"[S54] (1.17.23, 2.13.57). Claudius Etruscus in Statius' *Silvae* (3.3.180) is seen calling out and speaking to his father's warm ashes. Ovid, miserable and in exile on the Black Sea, envisaged his wife at his death calling out her "wretched man's name in the void" (*Tr*. 3.3.50–1)[S55], suggesting that crying out the name of the dead was an essential part of funerary ritual, no matter how far the voice had to travel. Calling to the dead, Propertius believed, would return that person "on a journey no law permits" (2.27.15–16)[S56]. Clearly, this act did not revive the dead physically, but it conjured up the personality of that person, much like other ritual acts such as commemorative feasts or the impersonation of the dead during the funeral. As Connerton (1989: 69) in his discussion of rituals demonstrates, the dead can reappear in the world of the living "provided one knows how to recall them". Recalling them may have involved ritual and gestures, but clearly the performance of speaking in response to the written words on the funerary monuments also bridged the gap between the dead and the living in a symbolic way.

Calling to the dead and speaking the deceased's name may have been considered a powerful magical tool in preserving the memory of an individual. The texts of papyri related to healing rituals, for example, include explicit instructions to mention the name of the patient, but in some cases just thinking of the person would be effective enough (Versnel 2002). Writing spells in Egyptian and Graeco-Roman texts was thought to be an effective replication of the original, verbal rite, and engraving a curse on a curse tablet whilst reciting it made the spoken words effective and permanent (Frankfurter 1994: 195; Graf 1997: 131–3).[20] The importance of the name in remembering, or condemning, the dead is illustrated by a funerary altar commissioned in Rome in the late first century AD by a man named Euphrosynus and his freedwoman wife for their young daughter who had just died.[21] His wife some time after this suffered a *damnatio memoriae* and her name was erased from the epitaph panel by Euphrosynus after she allegedly committed adultery and ran off with the slaves. Erasing her name damned her to oblivion, a much feared prospect in antiquity. But in order to curse her, and to have that act be effective, Euphrosynus had to name her, so he attached a second inscription containing her name and the curse in order to secure netherworldly and subterranean assistance (their dead daughter?) in making her suffer (Johnston 1999).

Cursors such as Euphrosynus wanted a secure mechanism for carrying speech across distance and time (Culham 1999: 98). That mechanism may have been a stone tablet, but more often it was an inscribed sheet of lead (*tabella defixionum*), folded up and deposited in a river, a well, a tomb or some other subterranean place. The words of a curse were made permanent and far more effective by writing them down. It did not matter whether the commissioner of such *tabellae* were literate or instead needed to engage the help of a professional scribe; the inscribed words still enabled the cursor to communicate with the gods and to use them as a weapon, or at least he believed they did (Culham 1999: 100). For the commissioner of a funerary inscription, the inscribed stone also carried speech across distance and time. In this sense, we might consider whether the inscribed texts, and especially the inscribed personal names, on funerary monuments might have replicated a specific speech act: the calling out to and naming of the dead (*conclamatio*) in the primary ritual of death and burial. The funerary text of the 'speaking' stones certainly prompted the repetition of this naming and calling ritual by anyone who read the inscription out loud, for as long as the text physically survived. Thomassen (1999) points out that speaking emphatically turns speech into act, while acting with intense deliberation increases the

significative content of the act. This might involve bodily gestures, specific actions and the pronunciation of words designed to enhance the active character of utterances. In the context of funerary commemoration, reading the name of the deceased aloud made it resound, the voice enhancing the active character of communicating with and speaking for the dead.

Epitaphs leave no doubt about the importance of speaking to the dead by name. A soldier of Legio II Adiutrix in Aquincum communicates with the reader about his wife by saying: "…may you be happy who read…and speak with a solemn voice, Aelia Sabina: Greetings!" (*Catalogue* F42)[S57]. And a son asked his mother in Rome to "call the name of your son, who lies here, often; even if they are just words, they are most dear to my ashes[S58]".[22] The survival of names was not simply a matter of remembering them, long gone, in silence or in everyday speech. By reading aloud the names inscribed on the monuments visitors to the tomb addressed the dead as still present amongst them.

It was important that the person commemorated with an inscription of the 'speaking' variety believed in the ritual power and symbolic efficacy that the reading and verbal recitation of his inscription had in keeping him, his name and his memory alive. In order for this to work, there had to be an audience possessing varying degrees of literacy skills to whom, in more ways than one, the inscription spoke and was directed. These were the readers of the 'speaking' stones. It was they who, however briefly and occasionally, breathed life into the deceased in their dialogue with the dead.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I should like to thank the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies for awarding me a grant from the Hugh Last and Donald Atkinson Funds to carry out research at the British School at Rome in spring 2005. I am very grateful to John Drinkwater and Anthony Birley for their helpful comments on an earlier draft. The invitation to give this paper as part of the Accordia Lecture Series was much appreciated, as was the interest of John Wilkins in publishing it here.

NOTES

1 *CIL* VI.37965/Gordon 1983: 45–8/Friggeri 2001: 168–9/Bodel 2001: 40–1.

2 See, for example, *CIL* II.1206; *CIL* II.2720/ Knapp 1992: No. 299; *CIL* II^2/5.1219=*CIL* II.1498; *CIL* II^2/5.1222=*CIL* II.1499; *CIL* II^2/7.423; *CIL* II^2/7.426=*CIL* II.2262/Bücheler, *CE* 1500a. For regional differences in invocations, expressions and abbreviations in funerary epigraphy, see Carroll 2006: 133–6.

3 For other acrostic inscriptions, see *CIL*III.6306/ Bücheler, *CE*273; *CIL*VI.20674/ Bücheler, *CE*436; *CIL*VIII.7156/Bücheler, *CE*512. Acrostic word games appear also in late Roman and Christian epitaphs (*CIL*V.6731/Bücheler, *CE*748; *CIL*VIII.9159. 9170 and 20202/ Bücheler, *CE*1830) and, indeed, as late as the eighth century (Bücheler, *CE*725–7).

4 *CIL* VI.9604/Bücheler, *CE*1253; *CIL*XI.4631/ Bücheler, *CE*1846.

5 *CIL* XIII.7156/Bücheler, *CE*512.

6 *CIL* VIII.28082/ Bücheler, *CE*1967/Engstrom, *CE*186. A thirty-year-old woman from Conimbriga wrote her own verses: *CIL*II.391, suppl. p. 815/Bücheler, *CE*485.

7 Bücheler, *CE*991=*CIL*VI.2489, identical to Bücheler, *CE*992=*CIL*III.2835; Alföldy 1975: No. 636=*CIL*II.6130, identical to *CIL*VI.23942.

8 On epitaphs and Classical authors, see Sandys 1927: 6-19; Galletier 1922: 37–9.

9 On Propertius and funerary verse, see Popova 1973.

10 Sometimes the reader is addressed as *homo* or *adulescens*: *Catalogue* A13; B51; C109. Other times, the inscription opens with "you who read this": *Catalogue* A19; A32; A80; B25; C36, or with "you who pass by": *Catalogue* B87; B100, or with "you who stop": *Catalogue* B135; C53.

11 *IG* XII 9.285=*IG* XII Suppl. p. 186/ Friedländer 1948: No. 140 (Eretria). See also from Athens "Stranger who walk this path, mark the tombstone of these brothers who left their family": *IG* II/III^2.13102a/Clairmont 1970: No. 60. For similar texts, see also *IG* I^2.976/Friedländer 1948: No. 135; *IG* II/III^2.10435/Clairmont 1970: No. 44. The address to the wayfarer continues in Greek-language epitaphs of the Roman period, eg. CIL *III*.8899. There is a long tradition in the ancient world of objects, including gravestones, that speak in the first person, for which see Bodel 2001: 18-19; Häusle 1980: 48–9. From the sixth century BC Greek funerary monuments can refer to themselves in the first person. Latin funerary inscriptions later take

up this motif, as we can see in an epitaph from Rome of the mid-first century BC: "I am Lucius Lutatius Paccius, dealer in incense from the family of King Mithridates" (*CIL* I.1065=*CIL* VI.5639/*ILS* 7612).

12 The nihilistic and bitter phrase *non fui, fui, non sum, non curo* (was not, I was, I am not, I don't care), found with some regularity in Rome and northern Italy, is very rare on 'speaking' stones: *Catalogue* C63 (Mirobriga); *Catalogue* B4 (Aquileia); *Catalogue* B69 (Forum Novum).

13 The greeting in Greek is XAIPE or XAIPETE. This continues in the Roman period in Greek-language epitaphs: *CIL*III.333; *CIL*VIII.8854.

14 For other examples, see also *Catalogue* B69; B95; B115; B138; F8; F38.

15 *CIL* III.3247, suppl. 8003. An epitaph from Rome (*CIL*VI.23083) says the people keep the name of the deceased, the tomb the body.

16 *CIL* VI.16913. On cenotaphs and honorific tombs, see Frischer 1982-83; Ricci 2001; Carroll 2006: 163–8.

17 *CIL* VI.22215/Bücheler, *CE*801: *Stat lapis et nomen tantum vestigia nulla*.

18 See also *CIL*VI.13203.

19 This seems to reflect a similar attitude expressed in Euripides, *Alcestis*1000-1004: "And those who go past the curve in the road will say: She died for her husband long ago, and now she is a blessed spirit". Elsewhere Propertius mentions verbal comments made by visitors to tombs: 2.1.77–8, 3.7.27–8.

20 Such curse tablets were often placed in or near a tomb to give the dead power over the cursed victim. A double curse tablet made of lead and dating to the first century BC, for example, comes from a small cemetery south of Pompeii (Fondo Azzolini). In it a woman curses a female rival: *CIL* I^2.2541; *CIL* IV.9251; Stefani and Varone 1998: *Catalogue* N32, fig. p. 105.

21 *CIL* VI.20905/ Bücheler, *CE* 95/Lattimore 1942: 124. The inscriptions are discussed by Evans Grubbs 2002 and Carroll *forthcoming*.

22 *CIL* VI.15876/ Bücheler, *CE* 431. In another epitaph[S58] a son asks his mother to speak his name because the spirits like to hear their name: *CIL* VI.25182. Similar sentiments can be found in Latin literature: Claudius Etruscus spoke to his dead father, "and sweet were his words to the happy father's ear" (Statius, *Silv*. 3.3.205–6).

APPENDIX
GREEK & LATIN SOURCE TEXTS

S1 HIC EGO QUI SINE VOCE LOQUOR DE MARMORE CAESO
NATUS IN EGREGIIS TRALLIBUS EX ASIA
OMNIA BAIARUM LUSTRAVI MOENIA SAEPE
PROPTER AQUAS CALIDAS DELICIASQUE MARIS
CUIUS HONOROFICAE VITAE NON IMMEMOR HERES
QUINQUAGINTA MEIS MILLIBUS UT VOLUI
HANC AEDEM POSUIT STRUXIDQUE NOVISSIMA TEMPLA
MANIBUS ET CINERI POSTERIISQUE MEIS
SET TE QUI LEGIS HAEC TANTUM PRECOR UT MIHI DICAS
SIT TIBI TERRA LEVIS SOCRATES ARISTOMACHI

Epitaph from Ostia, Catalogue B166, CIL XIV 480

S2 HOSPES RESISTE ET HOC AD GRUMUM AD LAEVAM ASPICE

Epitaph of Gaius Ateilius Euhodus, Rome, Catalogue A5

S3 QUANTUMCUMQUE TAMEN PRAECONIA NOSTRA VALEBUNT VERSICULUS VIVES

Allia Potestas, Rome, CIL VI 37965

S4 Inscriptions on tituli in Fondo Pacifico, Pompeii:

The Tomb of Marcus Blaesius Malchio (left) has three inscriptions, reading from left:

BLASIAE / Ↄ L QUARTAE	Blasiae / Gaiae libertae Quartae
BLASIAE / C L NICAE / MALCHIO L	Blasiae / Cai libertae, Nicae / Malchio libertus
M BLAESIUS / Ↄ L MALCHIO	Marcus Blaesius / Gaiae libertus Malchio

The Tomb of Marcus Lollius Nicia (right) has three inscriptions, reading from left:

M LOLLIUS / M L FELIX	Marcus Lollius / Marci libertus Felix
M LOLLIUS M L / LUCRIO	Marcus Lollius Marci libertus / Lucrio

M LOLLIUS M L / NICIA / LOLLIA M L / HERMIONA / ET LIBERTI ET LIBERTE
Marcus Lollius Marci libertus / Nicia / Lollia Marci liberta / Hermiona / et liberti et liberte

S5 SALVE VIATOR QUI ISTAC ITER FACIS
SALVO TUO CORPORE CONSISTE ET LEGE....
ET NUNC ROGO VOS OMN
ES NATOS NASCENTESQUE UT SI QUID LA(p)SUS
ME PRAETERIT HOMINEM BARBARUM NATU
PANNUNIUM MULTI ULCERI(bu)S ET MALIS
PERTURBATUM IGNOSCATIS ROGO AT NU(nc)
INPRECAMUS DEOS UT SI QUIS HOC SEPHULCR(um)
AUT HUNC TITULUM LAESERIT IN(tulerit sit illi)
FORTUNA MALA ET QUOD MER(itu)M SIT HUNC
TITULUMQUE QUICUMQUE LEGERIT AUT LEGE(ntem)
AUSCULTA(ve)RIT ALLEUET ILLOS FOR(tuna)
SUPERIOR ET VALEANT SEMPER (in aeterno)
QUICUMQUE IN HOC TITULO SCRIP(ta legerit verba)
QUIETIS SIT VOBIS TERRA LEVIS

Epitaph from Sulmo, Catalogue B57

S6 AEMILIA M F PROCULI
NA ANN XVI/PIA IN SUIS S[IT] T[IBI] T[ERRA] L[EVIS]
DIC Q[UI] L[EGIS] S[IT] T[IBI] T[ERRA] L[EVIS]
Aemilia Proculina, daughter of Marcus, dutiful to her own, 16 years old, may the earth lie lightly on you! You who read, say: may the earth lie lightly on you!

Epitaph from Olaurum, Catalogue C33

S7 D M Val Rufine an XII Lic Anna m pien fil po
equivalent to:-
DIS MANIBUS. VALERIAE RUFIN[A]E, AN[NOS] XII LIC(INIA) ANNA, MATER, PIENTISSIMAE FILIAE POSUIT
To the spirits of the dead and of Valeria Rufina, 12 years old, Licinia Anna did this for her most dutiful daughter

Epitaph from Solia, Catalogue C62

S8 **V**EL NUNC MORANDO RESTA QUI PERGES ITER
ETIAM DOLENTIS CASUS ADVERSOS LEGE
TREBIUS BASILEUS CONIUNX QUAE SCRIPSI DOLENS
UT SCIRE POSSIS INFRA SCRIPTA PECTORIS
RERUM BONARUM FUIT HAEC ORNATA SUIS
INNOCUA SIMPLEX QUAE NUMQUAM SERBABIT DOLUM
ANNOS QUAE VIXIT XXI ET MENSIBUS VII
GENUITQUE EX ME TRES NATOS QUOS RELIQUIT PARBULOS
REPLETA QUARTUM UTERO MENSE OCTAVO OBIT
ATTONITUS CAPITA NUNC VERSORUM INSPICE
TITULUM MERENTIS ORO PERLEGAS LIBENS
AGNOSCES NOMEN CONIUGIS GRATAE MEAE
Acrostic Epitaph of Veturia Grata from Rome, CIL VI.28753, CE 108, Catalogue A94

S9 CONIUNX QUOD POTUIT TITU
LUM MIHI REDDIDIT UNI
Epitaph of Alexander from Rome, CIL VI.9604

S10 VIR TUUS INGENTI GEMITU FLETUQUE RIGATUS
HOS FECI VERSUS PAUCA TAMEN MEMORANS
Epitaph from Carsulae, CIL XI.4631

S11 TE ROGO PRAETERIENS FAC MORA ET PERLEGE VERSUS
QUOS EGO DICTAVI ET IUSSI SCRIBERE QUENDAM
Epitaph from Tusculum, Catalogue B178

S12 QUISQUE SAPIS IUVENIS VIVO TIBI PONE SEPULCHRUM
Epitaph of Antigonus Vitalis from Carthage, Catalogue G9

S13 HOS EGO IAM PROAVO
VERSUS PATER IPSE NEPOSQUE
TESTANTES VITAM MULTA PER SAE
CULA MISI
Epitaph of T. Flavius Pudens, Madaura, CIL VIII.28082

S14 da lacrimas tumulo, qui legis iste, meo
Martial, vii, 96

S15 **. . .** properas qui flere, viator,
non licet hic vitae de brevitate queri
Martial, xi, 91

S16 ὦ ξεῖν᾽, ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι
Herodotus, vii, 228

S17 VALEBIS HOSPES VEIVE TIBI IAM (mors venit)
Epitaph from Trebula Mutuesca, Catalogue B69

S18 (S)EI PROPERAS I NO(n ten)E(o) SEIN OTIUM HABES STA/PERL(ege)
Epitaph from Rome, Catalogue A2

S19 SI LUTUS SI PULVIS
TARDAT TE FORTE
VIATOR ARIDA SIVE
SITIS NUNC TIBI ITER
MINUIT PERLEGE)
Epitaph from Val Bona, Catalogue B22

S20 AT VIRIDI REQUIESCE VIATOR IN HERBA
(ne)U FUGE SI TECUM COEPERIT UMBRA LOQUI
Epitaph from Hispellum, Catalogue B149

S21 CARPIS SI QUIRUS PAULUM HUC DEPONE LA(borem)
CUR TANTUM PROPER(as) NON EST MORA.....
ORO LIBENS (relegas) NE TAEDIO DUC(as) AMICE
Epitaph of Gaius Clodius Paulinus from Forum Livium, Catalogue B126

S22 VIVAS
VALEAS AMES AMERIS
USQUE AT DIE
Epitaph from Rome, Catalogue A49

S23 HOSPES VIVE VALE IN SUMPTUM SUPERET TIBI SEMPER
QUA NON SPEVISTI HUNC LAPIDEM DIGNUMQ(ue) DICASTI
Epitaph from Brindisium, Catalogue B39

S24 HOSPES RESISTE ET TUMULUM HUNC EXCELSUM ASPICE.....
NOMEN EI QUAERAS EXORATURI SALVIAE
VALEBIS HOSPES OPTO UT SANCTIS FELICIOR
Epitaph from Eporedia, Catalogue B31

S25 HOC QUI SCIRE CUPIS IACEANT QUAE MEMBRA SEPULCHRO
DISCES DUM RELEGAS HOS MODO VERSICULOS
Epitaph from Milan, Catalogue B23

S26 SE(pulcrum)...
SI QUIS F(orte ve)
LIS CURIOSE SCI
RE VIATOR
Epitaph from Madaura, Catalogue C34

S27 QUISQUIS ES HUC OCULOS PAULAM CONVERTE VIATOR ET LEGE QUOD
NOMEN HIC TITULUS TENEAT *Epitaph from Rome, Catalogue A44*

S28 QUOD LEGES MI
RANS VIATOR
ILLUT EST QUOD SC
IS BENE QUOD SI CA
SUS NOSSE QUAERES
PERLEGE TITULUM
MEUM DECIDI EX
ALTO PUELLA VI
TA(m) FATO REDDIDI *Epitaph from Volsinii, Catalogue B140*

S29 USSERE ARDENTES INTUS MEA VISCERA MORBI
VINCERE QUOS MEDICAE NON POTUERE MANUS
SPARGE PRECOR FLORES SUPRA MEA BUSTA VIATOR
Epitaph from Tarraco, Catalogue C108

S30 HOSPES RESISTE ET NIS M
OLESTUST PERLEGE NOLI
STOMACARE SUADEO
CALDUM BIBAS MORIU
N(d)UST VALE
Epitaph from Ausonia, Catalogue C106

S31 VIVITE MORS PROPERAT
Epitaph from Puteoli, Catalogue B89

S32 TU QUI LEGIS VADE IN APOLINIS
LAVARI QUOD EGO CUM CONIU
GE FECI VELLEM SI ADUC POSSEM
Epitaph from Lyon, Catalogue E2

S33 MILITAVI A(t)Q(ue) NUNC HIC S(u)M
(hoc) LEGITE ET FELICES VITA PLUS MIN(us) E(ste)
(d)I UVA VINI ET AQUA PROHIBENT UBI
TA(r)TAR(a) ADITIS VIVITE DUM SI(dus)
VITAE DAT TEMPUS HONESTE
Epitaph from Wroxeter, Catalogue H1

S34 AMICI QUI LEGITIS MONEO MISCETE LYAEUM
ET POTATE PROCUL REDIMITI TEMPORA FLORE
ET VENEREOS COITUS FORMOSIS NE DENEGATE PUELLIS
CETERA POST OBITUM TERRA CONSUMIT ET IGNIS
Epitaph of Flavius Agricola, Rome, Catalogue A57

S35 (h)EUS TU VIATOR VENI HOC ET QUEIESCI
PUSIL(l)U(m) INNUIS ET NEGITAS
TAMEN HOC REDEU(n)DUS TIBI
Epitaph from Rome, Catalogue B141

S36 SI QUID PRAETERIENS TITULO VIS DICERE NOSTRO
SI BENE SIVE MALE DICIS HABEBIS IDEM *Epitaph of Gaius Pirrius, Mandela, Catalogue B179*

S37 SI QUIS LAESERIT NEC SUPERIS
COMPROBETUR NEC INFERI RECIPIANT ET SIT ET TERRA GRAVIS
Epitaph of Gaius Meanius Cimber, Rome, Catalogue A27

S38 HIC EGO QUI SINE VOCE LOQUOR DE MARMORE CAESO *Epitaph from Ostia, Catalogue B166*

S39 QUODQUE MEAM
RETINET VOCEM DATA LITTE
RA SAXO VOCE TUA VIVET
QUISQUE LEGES TITULOS
Epitaph of Lucius Claudius Rufinus from Lyon, Catalogue E5

S40 IMPENSAE CAUSAM TITULUM QUI PERLEGIS AUDI
Epitaph from Rome, Catalogue A15

S41 DUM LEG(is) AUDI
LINGUA TUA VIVUM MITIQUE TUA VOCE LOQUENTEM
Epitaph from Forum Livium, Catalogue B126

S42 SISTE GRADUM QUAESO SINE TE LEVET UMBRA TENACEM
HOSPES ITER DURUM EST QUID TERIS USQUE VIAM
AUDI PAUCA
Epitaph from Interpromium, Catalogue B54

S43 QUI LEGIS HUNC TITULUM QUID NOMEN SCIRE..... PRECOR AUDI
Epitaph from Rome, Catalogue A15

S44 VIATOR AUDI SI LIBET
Epitaph from Antipolis, Catalogue D3

S45 QUICUMQUE LEGERIT AUT LEGE(ntem)
Epitaph from Sulmo, Catalogue B57

S46 (have) VIATOR QUI
(tran)SIS ET LEGIS ET DICIS
(vale)
Epitaph from Aquileia, Catalogue B3

S47 AVE BE
NE VALEAS QUISQ(uis) ES VIATOR
(ne)Q(u)E VALE(at) QUI ME AMOVE(rit)
Epitaph from Vardagate, Catalogue B36

S48 POLLENTIA SAEVA SUBEGIT EST ET IBI
TUMULUS NOMEN ET ARA MIHI
Epitaph from Tusculum, CIL VI.16913

S49 maius ab exsequiis nomen in ora venit
Propertius, 3, 1, 24

S50 LEGE NUNC VIATOR NOMEN IN TITULO MEUM
Epitaph from Mantua, Catalogue B15

S51 HOSPES CONSISTE ET THORACIS PERLEGE NOMEN
Epitaph from Carthago Nova, Catalogue C86

S52 cinis hic docta puella fuit
Propertius, 2, 11, 5-6

S53 illa meum extremo clammasset pulvere nomen
Propertius, 1, 17, 22

S54 mutos revocabis, Cynthia, Manes
Propertius, 2, 13, 57

S55 clamabis miseri nomen inane viri
Ovid, Tr. 3.3.50-51

S56 concessum nulla lege redibit iter
Propertius, 2, 27, 15-16

S57 FELIX QUICUMQUE LEGES TE
NUMINA SERVENT ET PIA VOCE CANE AELIA SABINA VALE
Epitaph from Aquincum, Catalogue F42

S58 TU PIA TU MATER CINERES OPERIRE MEMENTO
SAEPIUS IN NATI NOMEN CLAMATO IACENTIS
VERBA MEO CINERI SALTEM GRATISSIMA DONA
Epitaph from Rome, CIL VI.15876

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ABBREVIATIONS

Bücheler, *CE*	Bücheler, F. 1895–1897. *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, Vols. 1–2, and *Supplementum* by Lommatzsch, E. 1926. B.G. Teubner, Leipzig.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (1863–). Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin.
CSIR	*Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani* (1973–). Habelt, Bonn.
Digest	Watson, A. 1985. *The Digest of Justinian*, 4 Volumes. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
Engström, *CE*	Engström, E. 1912. *Carmina Latina Epigraphica (post editam collectionem Buechelerianum in lucem prolata)*. Eranos' Förlag, Goteburg.
ICUR	*Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* (1922–1992). Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, Rome.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae* (1924–). Walter de Gruyter, Berlin.
ILS	Dessau, H. 1892–1916. *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. Weidmann, Berlin.
RIB	Collingwood, R.G. and Wright, R.P. 1995. *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (2nd edn.). Alan Sutton Publishing, Phoenix Mill.

Aulus Gellius, *NA*	*Noctes Atticae*
Ovid, *Tr.*	*Tristia*
Pliny (the Elder), *HN*	*Naturalis Historia*
Pliny (the Younger), *Ep.*	*Epistulae*
Petronius, *Sat.*	*Satura*
Varro, *Ling.*	*De Lingua Latina*
Sidonius Apollinaris, *Ep.*	*Epistulae*
Statius, *Silv.*	*Silvae*

CATALOGUE OF FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS

(addressing or greeting the viewer
and referring to
reading, listening and speaking)

A ROME

1 *CIL* I².1210=*CIL* VI.32311/*ILS* 1932; Bücheler, *CE* 53; Häusle 1980, 43–4
2 *CIL* I².2997; Bücheler, *CE* 975
3 *CIL* I².3002
4 *CIL* I.1072=*CIL* I².1348=*CIL* VI.23227/*ILS* 8395
5 *CIL* I².1223; Bücheler, *CE* 970
6 *CIL* I.1027=*CIL* I².1212=*CIL* VI.9545/*ILS* 7602; Bücheler, *CE* 74; Lattimore 1942, 119
7 *CIL* I.1009=*CIL* I².1214=*CIL* VI.10096; Bücheler, *CE* 55
8 *CIL* I.1006=*CIL* I².1202=*CIL* VI.13696/*ILS* 8121; Bücheler, *CE* 11; Galletier 1922, 37–8, 218; Purdie 1935, 51–2; Lattimore 1942, 236
9 *CIL* I.1007=*CIL* I².1211=*CIL* VI.15346/*ILS* 8403; Bücheler, *CE* 52; Lattimore 1942, 271, 229, 232; Häusle 1980, 93–4.
10 *CIL* I.1049=*CIL* I².1295=*CIL* VI.16606
11 *CIL* I².1340=*CIL* VI.22556
12 *CIL* I.1098=*CIL* I².1408=*CIL* VI.28422/*ILS* 8396
13 *CIL* I².1209=*CIL* VI.33919a/*ILS* 7703; Bücheler, *CE* 848; Galletier 1922, 38
14 *CIL* VI.40; Bücheler, *CE* 1518
15 *CIL* VI.10237/*ILS* 7870; Bücheler, *CE* 371.
16 *CIL* VI.2335/*ILS* 1967; Bücheler, *CE* 127b; Lattimore 1942, 236
17 *CIL* VI.2357/*ILS* 8204; Bücheler, *CE* 838; Lattimore 1942, 229
18 *CIL* VI.3608; Bücheler, *CE* 475.
19 *CIL* VI.5302; Bücheler, *CE* 1037; Purdie 1935, 101; Lattimore 1942, 263
20 *CIL* VI.5767; Bücheler, *CE* 1101, Lattimore 1942, 120, 236
21 *CIL* VI.6214/*ILS* 8419; Engström, *CE* 396
22 *CIL* VI.6457/*ILS* 8129a
23 *CIL* VI.6492/*ILS* 8129b
24 *CIL* VI.6548
25 *CIL* VI.6573
26 *CIL* VI.7419; Bücheler, *CE* 1016
27 *CIL* VI.7579/*ILS* 8190; Bücheler, *CE* 2170; Engström, *CE* 411; Lattimore 1942, 121
28 *CIL* VI.8012/*ILS* 8435; Bücheler, *CE* 134
29 *CIL* VI.8534b; Engström, *CE* 384
30 *CIL* VI.9024
31 *CIL* VI.9274/ *ILS* 7456; Bücheler, *CE* 1883; Engström, *CE* 394.
32 *CIL* VI.9280/*ILS* 8194
33 *CIL* VI.9437/*ILS* 7710; Bücheler, *CE* 403
34 *CIL* VI.9693; Bücheler, *CE* 1136
35 *CIL* VI.10097; Bücheler, *CE* 1111; Koortbojian 1996, 228–9, fig. 36
36 *CIL* VI.10268
37 *CIL* VI.10493; Bücheler, *CE* 1122; Häusle 1980, 41–2
38 *CIL* VI.10558/*ILS* 8135
39 *CIL* VI.10630
40 *CIL* VI.10651; Lattimore 1942, 236
41 *CIL* VI.10969; Bücheler, *CE* 443; Purdie 1935, 52; Lattimore 1942, 233
42 *CIL* VI.11743; Bücheler, *CE* 1498

43 *CIL* VI.11938
44 *CIL* VI.12009; Bücheler, *CE* 1218
45 *CIL* VI.12214
46 *CIL* VI.12652; Bücheler, *CE* 995; Galletier 1922, 224; Lattimore 1942, 204
47 *CIL* VI.12735; Bücheler, *CE* 132
48 *CIL* VI.12951; Bücheler, *CE* 1456
49 *CIL* VI.13075/*ILS* 8137; Lattimore 1942, 236.
50 *CIL* VI.13927 and 36631/*ILS* 8196
51 *CIL* VI.14537/*ILS* 8138
52 *CIL* VI.14578 and 34083; Bücheler, *CE* 502
53 *CIL* VI.17056; Bücheler, *CE* 1085
54 *CIL* VI.17342; Bücheler, *CE* 1049
55 *CIL* VI.1456
56 *CIL* VI.17844
57 *CIL* VI.17985a; Bücheler, *CE* 856; Häusle 1980, 98–9
58 *CIL* VI.18086; Bücheler, *CE* 1581
59 *CIL* VI.18385; Bücheler, *CE* 1184; Purdie 1935, 67
60 *CIL* VI.18659/*ILS* 8145
61 *CIL* VI.18938/*ILS* 8145; Bücheler, *CE* 131
62 *CIL* VI.19007; Bücheler, *CE* 562
63 *CIL* VI.19175; Bücheler, *CE* 1086
64 *CIL* VI.19683; Bücheler, *CE* 1582
65 *CIL* VI.20370; Bücheler 1544
66 *CIL* VI.20466; Bücheler, *CE* 1064
67 *CIL* VI.20480
68 *CIL* VI.20674; Bücheler, *CE* 436
69 *CIL* VI.21200; Bücheler, *CE* 973
70 *CIL* VI.21261
71 *CIL* VI.21848
72 *CIL* VI.22102; Bücheler, *CE* 92
73 *CIL* VI.22107
74 *CIL* VI.22203; Bücheler, *CE* 1478
75 *CIL* VI.22628
76 *CIL* VI.22855
77 *CIL* VI.23629
78 *CIL* VI.23685
79 *CIL* VI.24022; Bücheler, *CE* 2028; Engström, *CE* 210.
80 *CIL* VI.24368 and 34152; Bücheler, *CE* 1097
81 *CIL* VI.24800/*ILS* 8183; Bücheler, *CE* 1299; Lattimore 1942, 121
82 *CIL* VI.25092/*ILS* 8127a
83 *CIL* VI.25489/*ILS* 8128
84 *CIL* VI.25512; Engström, *CE* 70
85 *CIL* VI.25537
86 *CIL* VI.25548/*ILS* 6192
87 *CIL* VI.25703; Bücheler, *CE* 1537
88 *CIL* VI.26003; Bücheler, *CE* 1495
89 *CIL* VI.26020; Bücheler, *CE* 1013
90 *CIL* VI.26554/*ILS* 8139
91 *CIL* VI.26680; Bücheler, *CE* 1173
92 *CIL* VI.27247

93 *CIL* VI.27365/*ILS* 8201a
94 *CIL* VI.28753; Bücheler, *CE* 108
95 *CIL* VI.28877; Bücheler, *CE* 1036
96 *CIL* VI.28942; Bücheler, *CE* 96
97 *CIL* VI.29265
98 *CIL* VI.29580/*ILS* 8450
99 *CIL* VI.29629; Bücheler, *CE* 1067
100 *CIL* VI.29952/*ILS* 8161; Bücheler, *CE* 247
101 *CIL* VI.30121
102 *CIL* VI.30123; Bücheler, *CE* 401
103 *CIL* VI.30124
104 *CIL* VI. 30553; Bücheler, *CE* 1775
105 *CIL* VI.32808; Bücheler, *CE* 474
106 *CIL* VI.33865
107 *CIL* VI.34285/*ILS* 8123
108 *CIL* VI.34416; Engström, *CE* 179
109 *CIL* VI.35653; Bücheler, *CE* 2127; Engström, *CE* 294
110 *CIL* VI.35887/*ILS* 8168; Bücheler, *CE* 1532
111 *CIL* VI.35979/*ILS* 8135a; Bücheler, *CE* 2217; Engström, *CE* 290
112 *CIL* VI.36202; Bücheler, *CE* 1545
113 *CIL* VI.36656; Bücheler, *CE* 1458; Lattimore 1942, 72
114 *CIL* VI.36631; Bücheler, *CE* 1884; Engström, *CE* 30
115 *CIL* VI.38710
116 *Revue Archéologique* 1928, 371; Purdie 1935, 65
117 Bücheler, *CE* 1402
118 Bücheler, *CE* 857; Lattimore 1942, 119
119 Kockel 1993, Cat. L22, pl. 107e; Koortbojian 1996, 225–6, fig. 35.
120 *ICUR* V.13655

B ITALY

Gallia Cisalpina; Liguria; Venetia and Histria; Transpadana; Alpes Cottiae; Alpes Maritimae

1 *CIL* V.1191=*CIL* I.1459=*CIL* I².2206
2 *CIL* V.1727; Bücheler, *CE* 2007; Engström, *CE* 200
3 *CIL* V.8519
4 *CIL* V.1939/*ILS* 8165; Bücheler, *CE* 1585; Galletier 1922, 223
5 *CIL* V.8974; Bücheler, *CE* 214
6 *CIL* V suppl. Ital. 335; Bücheler, *CE* 124
7 *CIL* V.2402; Lattimore 1942, 237
8 *CIL* V.2435; Bücheler, *CE* 369
9 *CIL* I².2172= *CIL* V.2866
10 *CIL* V.3012
11 *CIL* V.3403; Bücheler, *CE* 1004
12 *CIL* V.3466/*ILS* 5121
13 *CIL* V.3496/*ILS* 8457; Bücheler, *CE* 2171; Engström, *CE* 392
14 *CIL* V.3996
15 *CIL* V.4078; Bücheler, *CE* 84; Critini 1998, 161–6
16 *CIL* I.1431=*CIL* I².2138=*CIL* V.4111/*ILS* 8122; Bücheler, *CE* 119; Lattimore 1942, 329
17 *CIL* V.4629
18 *CIL*.V.4654

19 *CIL* V.4656; Bücheler, *CE* 1091
20 *CIL* V.4879
21 *CIL* V.4887
22 *CIL* V.4905; Bücheler, *CE* 982; Lattimore 1942, 233; Galletier 1922, 219
23 *CIL* V.5719; Bücheler, *CE* 1449
24 *CIL* V.5927/*ILS* 7552
25 *CIL* V.5961; Bücheler, *CE* 639
26 *CIL* V.6128; Bücheler, *CE* 473
27 *CIL* V.6134; Bücheler, *CE* 1309
28 *CIL* V.6295; Bücheler, *CE* 1433
29 *CIL* V.6698
30 *CIL* V.6739; Bücheler, *CE* 779
31 *CIL* I².2161=*CIL* V.6808; Bücheler, *CE* 63; Lattimore 1942, 237
32 *CIL*.V.7047
33 *CIL* V. suppl. Ital. 1305; Bücheler, *CE* 1539
34 Bücheler *CE* 1968; Engström, *CE* 208
35 *CIL* V.7430; Bücheler, *CE* 1464
36 *CIL* V.7465
37 *CIL* V.7570
38 *CIL* V.8699/*ILS* 8125

Calabria; Apulia; Samnium; Sabine Hills; Picenum

39 *CIL* IX.60; Bücheler, *CE* 1533
40 *CIL* IX.164
41 *CIL* IX.6112
42 *CIL* I.1267=*CIL* I².1702=*CIL* IX.605; Bücheler, *CE* 57
43 *CIL* IX.1527; Bücheler, *CE* 73
44 *CIL* I².3197
45 *CIL* IX.1658
46 *CIL* IX.1764; Bücheler, *CE* 76; Lattimore 1942, 232; Häusle 1980, 26
47 *CIL* IX.1817; Bücheler, *CE* 1055
48 *CIL* I.1220=*CIL* I².1732=*CIL* IX.1837; Bücheler, *CE* 960; Lattimore 1942, 176
49 *CIL* IX.1983
50 *CIL* IX.2105/*ILS* 8142
51 *CIL* IX.2128; Bücheler, *CE* 83; Lattimore 1942, 232
52 *CIL* IX.2272; Bücheler, *CE* 1523; Buonocore 2005, 2. Cat. 1
53 *CIL* IX.3009; Bücheler, *CE* 1280; Buonocore 2005, 4, Cat. 12
54 *CIL* IX.3071; Bücheler, *CE* 1212; Lattimore 1942, 233; Galletier 1922, 219; Buonocore 2005, 6, Cat. 18
55 *CIL* IX.3122; Bücheler, *CE* 1213; Buonocore 2005, 6, Cat. 19
56 *CIL* IX.3125
57 *L'Année Épigraphique* 1989, No. 247; Bodel 2001, 16; Buonocore 2005, 18, Cat. 9
58 *CIL* IX.3193/*ILS* 7553; Bücheler, *CE* 209; Buonocore 2005, 19, Cat. 14
59 *L'Année Épigraphique* 1983, 324; Buonocore 2005, 8, Cat. 28
60 *CIL* IX.3358; Bücheler, *CE* 1125; Galletier 1922, 53, 66, 106; Purdie 1935, 154; Buonocore 2005, 9, Cat. 34
61 *CIL* IX.3473; Bücheler, *CE* 186; Buonocore 2005, 10, Cat. 38
62 *L'Année Épigraphique* 1985, 330; Buonocore 2005, 10, Cat. 40
63 *CIL* IX.3821; Bücheler, *CE* 241; Galletier 1922, 283; Buonocore 2005, 11, Cat. 44
64 *CIL* XI.3895; Bücheler, *CE* 90; Buonocore 2005, 11–12, Cat. 46

65 *CIL* IX.4508
66 *CIL* IX.4796/*ILS* 7542; Bücheler, *CE* 437; Galletier 1922, 99, 102, 109, 247; Purdie 1935, 96–97; Buonocore 2005, 15, Cat. 63
67 *CIL* IX.4810; Bücheler, *CE* 1305; Galletier 1922, 121; Buonocore 2005, 15, Cat. 64
68 *CIL* IX.4840/*ILS* 8166; Bücheler, *CE* 1496; Buonocore 2005, 15–16, Cat. 66
69 *CIL* I².1836=*CIL* IX.4922; Bücheler, *CE* 62; Buonocore 2005, 16, Cat. 67
70 *CIL* I.1306=*CIL* I².1837=*CIL* IX.4933; Bücheler, *CE* 54; Buonocore 2005, 16, Cat. 68
71 *CIL* IX.5279/*ILS* 7732
72 *CIL* IX.5258; Bücheler, *CE* 61
73 *CIL* IX.5401; Bücheler, *CE* 1514
74 *CIL* IX.5608
75 *CIL* IX.5867
76 *CIL* IX.5922; Bücheler, *CE* 1517
77 *Notizie degli Scavi* 1893, 28; Bücheler, *CE* 117

Brutium; Lucania; Campania; Latium adiectum; Sicily; Sardinia; Corsica

78 *CIL* I.1256=*CIL* X.388/*ILS* 7791
79 *CIL* X.589
80 *CIL* X.619
81 *CIL* X.633/*ILS* 8132; Bücheler, *CE* 1308
82 *CIL* X.1152; Bücheler, *CE* 1056
83 *CIL* X.1275; Bücheler, *CE* 213; Lattimore 1942, 235
84 *CIL* X.1517
85 *CIL* X.1909
86 *CIL* X.1971/*ILS* 8193
87 *CIL* X.2246
88 *CIL* X.2311; Bücheler, *CE* 420
89 *CIL* X.2503; Bücheler, *CE* 1231; Lattimore 1942, 262
90 *CIL* X.2538
91 *CIL* X.2601; Tuck 2005, No. 152
92 *CIL* X.2712; Bücheler, *CE* 1482
93 *CIL* X.2723; Engström, *CE* 93
94 *CIL* X.2752; Bücheler, *CE* 1053
95 *CIL* X.3258
96 *CIL* I².3121
97 *CIL* X.4183; Bücheler, *CE* 222
98 *CIL* X.4352/*ILS* 8175; Bücheler, *CE* 16
99 *CIL* X.4428; Bücheler, *CE* 1083
100 *American Journal of Archaeology* 1898, 396, No. 60; Bücheler, *CE* 2179; Engström, *CE* 404
101 Tuck 2005, No. 234
102 *CIL* X.4915; Bücheler, *CE* 1319
103 *CIL* X.4961
104 *CIL* X.5020; Bücheler, *CE* 1084
105 *CIL* X.5099; Bücheler, *CE* 1480
106 *CIL* X.5371/*ILS* 7734; Bücheler, *CE* 118
107 *CIL* X.5429
108 *CIL* X.6053; Bücheler, *CE* 71
109 *Notizie degli Scavi* 1889, 112; Bücheler, *CE* 1463
110 *CIL* X.6616; Bücheler, *CE* 127; Lattimore 1942, 237
111 *CIL* X.6620
112 *CIL* X.6984

113 *CIL* X.7010
114 *CIL* X.7129
115 *CIL* X.7143
116 *CIL*.X.7566, 7579; Bücheler, *CE* 1551 B and C; Lattimore 1942, 102, 132
117 *CIL* X. 7697; Bücheler, *CE* 808
118 *CIL* X.8131; Bücheler, *CE* 428; Lattimore 1942, 233
119 *CIL* I².3146
120 D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983, Tomb 23 OS; Cooley and Cooley 2004, 152–3

Umbria; Etruria; Aemilia

121 *CIL* XI.6753; Bücheler, *CE* 1326
122 *CIL* XI.434
123 *CIL* XI.481
124 *CIL* XI.512
125 *CIL* XI.530
126 *CIL* XI.627 and ad n. 627 p. 1236; Bücheler, *CE* 513; Lattimore 1942, 233, Häusle 1980, 45–6
127 *CIL* XI.6841 and 6842; *Notizie degli Scavi* 1898, 479–80, fig. 3; Bücheler, *CE* 2027; Engström, *CE* 209
128 *CIL* XI.1036
129 *CIL* XI.1118; Bücheler, *CE* 98; Critini 1998, 111–7
130 *CIL* XI.1122b; Bücheler, *CE* 1273; Critini 1998, 118–21
131 *L'Année Épigraphique* 1953, 98; Critini 1998, 124–9
132 *CIL* XI.1260
133 *CIL* XI.1389
134 *CIL* XI.1563; Bücheler, *CE* 1130
135 *CIL* XI.7024; Bücheler, *CE* 1542
136 *CIL* XI.1616; Bücheler, *CE* 1190
137 *CIL* I².3339
138 *CIL* XI.2748
139 *CIL* XI.2784
140 *CIL* XI.7376; Bücheler, *CE* 1901
141 *CIL* XI.4010; Bücheler, *CE* 120; Bodel 2001, 18
142 *CIL* XI.4126; Bücheler, *CE* 194; Lattimore 1942, 125
143 *CIL* XI.4188
144 *CIL* XI.4311; Bücheler, *CE* 457
145 *CIL* XI.4339; Bücheler, *CE* 2026
146 *CIL* XI.4565; Bücheler, *CE* 1877; Engström, *CE* 22
147 *CIL* XI.7856; Bücheler, *CE* 2068
148 *CIL* XI.5335; Bücheler, *CE* 1813
149 *CIL* XI.5357; Bücheler, *CE* 1098; Lattimore 1942, 233
150 *CIL* XI.5530
151 *CIL* I².3387 =CIL XI.6043
152 *CIL* I².3388
153 *CIL* XI.5569; Engström, *CE* 91
154 *CIL* XI.6125; Bücheler, *CE* 986
155 *CIL* XI.6243; Engström, *CE* 43
156 *CIL* XI.6435; Bücheler, *CE* 434
157 *CIL* XI.6507
158 *CIL* XI.6551; Bücheler, *CE* 1088; Lattimore 1942, 229

159 *CIL* XI.6577
160 *CIL* XI.6578
161 *CE* 1152

Latium vetus; Ostia

162 *CIL* XIV.316
163 *CIL* XIV.356; Bücheler, *CE* 1450; Häusle 1980, 44–5
164 *CIL* XIV.380
165 *CIL* XIV.439/*ILS* 6156
166 *CIL* XIV.480; Bücheler, *CE* 1255; Häusle 1980, 45
167 *CIL* XIV.1169
168 *CIL* XIV.1309
169 *CIL* XIV.1473/*ILS* 8116
170 *CIL* XIV.1697
171 *CIL* XIV.1824; Bücheler, *CE* 87
172 *CIL* XIV.1873/*ILS* 8134; Bücheler, *CE* 128
173 *CIL* XIV.5021; *Notizie degli Scavi* 1913, 140; Bücheler, *CE* 2082
174 Calza 1940, 301.
175 *Notizie degli Scavi* 1907, 128; Bücheler, *CE* 2083; Engström, *CE* 305
176 *CIL* XIV.2485; Bücheler, *CE* 1564
177 *CIL* I.94=*CIL* I^2.1476=*CIL* XIV.3331
178 *CIL* XIV.2605; Bücheler, *CE* 477
179 *CIL* XIV.3480; Bücheler, *CE* 1459
180 *CIL* XIV.3565; Bücheler, *CE* 1504

C SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Lusitania

1 *CIL* II.59 and 5186; Bücheler, *CE* 1553
2 *CIL* II.369
3 *CIL* II.5241; Bücheler, *CE* 1452
4 *CIL* II.415; Bücheler, *CE* 1453
5 *CIL* II.540
6 *CIL* II.558; Bücheler, *CE* 1451
7 Bücheler, *CE* 2111; Engström, *CE* 327
8 *CIL* II.5304
9 *CIL* II.5327
10 *CIL* II.611
11 *L'Année Épigraphique* 2001, 1174

Baetica

12 *CIL* II.952
13 *CIL* II.1092
14 *CIL* II.1094
15 *CIL* II.1099
16 *CIL* II.1126
17 *CIL* II.5376
18 *CIL* II.5378
19 *CIL* II.6279
20 *CIL* II.1220
21 *CIL* II.1229

22 *CIL* II.1235; Bücheler, *CE* 1316
23 *CIL* II.1273
24 *CIL* II.1293; Bücheler, *CE* 1103
25 *CIL* II.5419
26 *CIL* II.1415=*CIL* II²/5.1114
27 *CIL* II.1419
28 *CIL* II²/5.1074
29 *CIL* II²/5.1075/76
30 *CIL* II²/5.1078
31 *CIL* II.5058/5471=*CIL* II²/5.924
32 *CIL* II.1634=*CIL* II²/5.925
33 *CIL* II²/5.947
34 *CIL* II.1463
35 *CIL* II²/5.997
36 *CIL* II.1487=*CIL* II²/5.1190
37 *CIL* II.1498=*CIL* II²/5.1221
38 *CIL* II²/5.1189
39 *CIL* II²/5.1227
40 *CIL* II.1512=*CIL* II²/5.1323; Engström, *CE* 289
41 *CIL* II.1634
42 *CIL* II.1699; Bücheler, *CE* 1123
43 *CIL* II.1728/*ILS* 8131; Gómez Pallares *et al* 2005, CA 3
44 *CIL* II.1752
45 *CIL* II.1810
46 *CIL* II.1821/*ILS* 8130; Bücheler, *CE* 1566; Gómez Pallares *et al.* 2005, CA 8
47 *CIL* II.1837
48 *CIL* II.1853
49 *CIL* II.1877; Bücheler, *CE* 1500; Gómez Pallares *et al* 2005, CA 11
50 Gómez Pallares *et al* 2005, CA 7
51 *CIL* II²/5, 686
52 *CIL* II.2146
53 *CIL* II.2262=*CIL* II²/7.426/Bücheler, *CE* 1500a
54 *CIL* II.2295
55 *CIL* II²/7.357
56 *CIL* II.2314=*CIL* II²/7.473
57 *CIL* II²/7.359
58 *CIL* II²/7.516
59 *CIL* II²/7.567
60 Bücheler, *CE* 723
61 *CIL* II²/7.737
62 *CIL* II²/7.767
63 *CIL* II²/7.869

Tarraconensis

64 *CIL* II.2567; Engström, *CE* 288
65 *CIL* II.3181; Bücheler, *CE* 123
66 *CIL* II.3186
67 *CIL* II.3256; Bücheler, *CE* 1196
68 *CIL* II²/14.290; Bücheler, *CE* 2183; Engström, *CE* 450
69 *CIL* II.3296; Bücheler, *CE* 1797
70 *CIL* II.5907; Bücheler, *CE* 1193

71 *CIL* II.3448
72 *CIL* II.3465
73 *CIL* II.3476
74 *CIL* II.3478
75 *CIL* II.3480
76 *CIL* II.3488
77 *CIL* II.3490
78 *CIL* II.3492
79 *CIL* I.1479=*CIL* I^2.2273=*CIL* II.3495; Engström, *CE* 410
80 *CIL* II.3505
81 *CIL* II.3506
82 *CIL* II.3507
83 *CIL* II.3511
84 *CIL* II.3512
85 *CIL* II.3519
86 *CIL* I^2.3449d=*CIL* II.3475; Bücheler, *CE* 980
87 *CIL* I^2.3449e
88 *CIL* I^2.3449f
89 *CIL* I^2.3449i
90 *CIL* II.3540
91 *CIL* II.5975; Bücheler, *CE* 1457
92 *CIL* II.3671
93 *CIL* II.3672
94 *CIL* II.3674
95 *CIL* I.1487=*CIL* I^2.2277=*CIL* II.3676
96 *CIL* II.3677
97 *CIL* II.3679
98 *CIL* II.3680
99 *CIL* II.3683
100 *CIL* II.3686
101 *CIL* II.3688
102 *CIL* II.3689
103 *CIL* II.3692
104 *CIL* II.3693
105 *CIL* II.6064=*CIL* II^2/14.618; Bücheler, *CE* 2069
106 *CIL* II^2/14.814
107 *CIL* II.4174; Bücheler, *CE* 127a; Alföldy 1975, No. 696
108 *CIL* II.4314; Bücheler, *CE* 1279; Alföldy 1975, No. 444
109 *CIL* II.4315; Bücheler, *CE* 500; Alföldy, 1975, No. 445
110 CIL II.4379; Bücheler, *CE* 122; Alföldy, 1975, No. 605
111 *CIL* II.4427
112 *CIL* II.4428; Bücheler, *CE* 981
113 Alföldy 1975, No. 566
114 Alföldy 1975, No. 441
115 Alföldy 1975, No. 447

D SOUTHERN GAUL

Gallia Narbonensis
1 *CIL* XII.213; Bücheler, *CE* 580
2 *CIL* XII.218; Bücheler, *CE* 466

3 *CIL* XII.5732; Bücheler, *CE* 121
4 *CIL* XII.533; Bücheler, *CE* 465; Lattimore 1942, 219
5 *CIL* XII.743; Bücheler, *CE* 454
6 *CIL* XII.861
7 *CIL* XII.915 and ad n. 915, p. 819
8 *CIL* XII.5811/*ILS* 7726; Bücheler, *CE* 1191; Lattimore 1942, 234
9 *CIL* XII.1981; Bücheler, *CE* 438
10 *CIL* XII.2916
11 *CIL* XII.3349/*ILS* 7534
12 *CIL* XII.4938/*ILS* 8147
13 *CIL* XII.5026; Bücheler, *CE* 1276
14 *CIL* XII.5271; Bücheler, *CE* 1021
15 *CIL* XII.5275; Bücheler, *CE* 1467
16 *CIL* XII.5276; Bücheler, *CE* 1073; Häusle 1980, 66–7
17 Bücheler, *CE* 1892

E GAUL AND GERMANY

Gallia Aquitania

1 *CIL* XIII.1568; Bücheler, *CE* 1956; Engström, *CE* 173

Gallia Lugdunensis

2 *CIL* XIII.1983/*ILS* 8158; Engström, *CE* 412
3 *CIL* XIII.2058/*ILS* 8126
4 *CIL* XIII.2073/*ILS* 8141; Engström, *CE* 88
5 *CIL* XIII.2104; Bücheler, *CE* 1278; Galletier 1922, 40; Häusle 1980, 46–7
6 *CIL* XIII.2216/*ILS* 8140; Bücheler, *CE* 1500b
7 *CIL* XIII.2219; Bücheler, *CE* 1198

Gallia Belgica

8 *CIL* XIII.3983
9 *CIL* XIII.4280/*ILS* 8124

Germania Superior

10 *CIL* XIII.5386/*ILS* 8143
11 *CIL* XIII.6857=*CSIR* 1,5.95; Selzer, 1988, No. 17
12 *CIL* XIII.6969
13 *CIL* XIII.7002; Bücheler, *CE* 1100
14 *CIL* XIII.7070=*CSIR* II,6.52; Bücheler, *CE* 1007; Lattimore 1942, 194; Selzer, 1988, No. 116
15 *CSIR* II,6.30; Selzer, 1988, No. 96
16 *CIL* XIII.11889=*CSIR* II,6.50; Bücheler, *CE* 2092; Engström, *CE* 373; Selzer 1988, No.95
17 *CIL* XIII.7234=*CSIR* 1,5.79; Bücheler, *CE* 1005; Selzer 1988, No. 5
18 *CIL* XIII.7592

Germania Inferior

19 *CIL* XIII.83448
20 *CIL* XIII.8355/ILS 7756; Bücheler, *CE* 219; Galletier 1922, 219
21 *CIL* XIII.8644
22 Bücheler, *CE* 799

F EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND THE DANUBE PROVINCES

Syria

1 *CIL* III.6660
2 *CIL* III.271, 2729; Bücheler, *CE* 246

Pontus; Bithynia

3 *CIL* III.341

Asia

4 *CIL* III.371/*ILS* 2783; Häusle 1980, 26
5 *CIL* III.405
6 *CIL* III.14190; Bücheler, *CE* 2160; Engström, *CE* 403

Epirus

7 *CIL* III.582

Macedonia; Thessaly

8 *CIL* III.594
9 *CIL* III.14206/*ILS* 7479
10 *CIL* III.14406a; Bücheler, *CE* 1878; Engström, *CE* 25

Thrace

11 *CIL* III.14406g

Moesia Inferior

12 *CIL* III.6155; Lattimore 1942, 233
13 *CIL* III.7545
14 *CIL* III.7549
15 *CIL* III.7584
16 *CIL* III.12484; Engström, *CE* 82; Häusle 1980, 30
17 *CIL* III.12392
18 *CIL* III.12396; Bücheler, *CE* 1879; Engström, *CE* 27
19 *CIL* III.12430
20 *CIL* III.12437; Bücheler, *CE* 1323

Moesia Superior

21 *CIL* III.12478
22 *CIL* III.1653 and 8143; Bücheler, *CE* 2162; Engström, *CE* 401

Dacia

23 *CIL* III.7868
24 *CIL* III.1626/*ILS* 8136

Dalmatia

25 *CIL* III.1992; Bücheler, *CE* 1465
26 *CIL* III.2277
27 *CIL* III.9314; Bücheler, *CE* 1205
28 *CIL* III.9623; Bücheler, *CE* 627
29 *CIL* III.14850; Bücheler, *CE* 1950; Engström, *CE* 235

30 *CIL* III.14855; Bücheler, *CE* 2218; Engström, *CE* 425
31 *CIL* III.14886[4]; Bücheler, *CE* 2024; Engström, *CE* 175
32 *CIL* III.2722 and 9729; Bücheler, *CE* 1536
33 *CIL* III.6416; Bücheler, *CE* 82
34 *CIL* III.9733; Bücheler, *CE* 77; Lattimore 1942, 233
35 Bücheler, *CE* 1876; Engström, *CE* 23; Galletier 1922, 230, 233
36 *CIL* III.3146
37 *CIL* III.3171
38 *CIL* III.3195b

Pannonia Inferior

39 *CIL* III.3396
40 *CIL* III.3397; Bücheler, *CE* 555

Pannonia Superior

41 *CIL* III.6475; Bücheler, *CE* 1310
42 *CIL* III.10501; Bücheler, *CE* 489
43 *CIL* III. Suppl. 10947; Bücheler, *CE* 1209
44 *CIL* III.15195; Bücheler, *CE* 1902; Engström, *CE* 24
45 *CIL* III.4483; Bücheler, *CE* 1082

Noricum

46 *CIL* III.13529; Bücheler, *CE* 1992; Engström, *CE* 240

G AFRICA

Byzacena

1 *CIL* VIII.11257
2 *CIL* VIII.22971; Bücheler, *CE* 1829; Lattimore 1942, 232
3 *CIL* VIII.213; Bücheler, *CE* 1552/Purdie 1935, 61
4 *CIL* VIII.218; Bücheler, *CE* 450; Häusle 1980, 43
5 *CIL* VIII.440=CIL VIII.11520; Bücheler, *CE* 1235
6 *CIL* VIII.369 and 11549; Bücheler, *CE* 572; Häusle 1980, 68
7 *CIL* VIII.647

Africa Proconsularis

8 *CIL* VIII.12118
9 *CIL* VIII.1027; Bücheler, *CE* 484; Purdie 1935, 16
10 *CIL* VIII.1042; Bücheler, *CE* 1286
11 *CIL* VIII.12866; Bücheler, *CE* 126
12 *CIL* VIII.13134; Bücheler, *CE* 1606
13 *CIL* VIII.13265; Bücheler, *CE* 135
14 *CIL* VIII.24787; Bücheler, *CE* 1943; Engström, *CE* 185; Lattimore 1942, 120
15 *CIL* VIII.1523; Bücheler, *CE* 1237
16 *CIL* VIII.27248; Bücheler, *CE* 1987
17 *CIL* VIII.1557
18 *CIL* VIII.15724

Numidia

19 *CIL* VIII.2841/*ILS* 8097

20 *CIL* VIII.3109
21 *CIL* VIII.3727
22 *CIL* VIII.4120; Bücheler, *CE* 133b
23 *CIL* VIII.4122; Bücheler, *CE* 133a; Engström, *CE* 28
24 *CIL* VIII.4502
25 *CIL* VIII.4504; Bücheler, *CE* 1457a
26 *CIL* VIII.5749 and 19146; Bücheler, *CE* 2163; Engström, *CE* 380
27 *CIL* VIII.5784; Engström, *CE* 379
28 *CIL* VIII.7156; Bücheler, *CE* 512
29 *CIL* VIII.7277/*ILS* 7943
30 *CIL* VIII.7759; Bücheler, *CE* 1327
31 Engström, *CE* 108
32 Bücheler, *CE* 2025; Engström, *CE* 233

Numidia Proconsularis

33 *CIL* VIII.4681; Bücheler, *CE* 511
34 Bücheler, *CE* 2107; Schmidt 1997, 949–950.
35 Engström, *CE* 181
36 Bücheler, *CE* 1868; Lattimore 1942, 228
37 Bücheler, *CE* 1952
38 *CIL* VIII.5370; Bücheler, *CE* 112

Mauretania Sitifensis

39 *CIL* VIII.20394; Engström, *CE* 26

Mauretania Caesariensis

40 *CIL* VIII.9158
41 *CIL* VIII.9170, 9159 and 20808; Bücheler, *CE* 1830
42 *CIL* VIII.9350
43 *CIL* VIII.9439 and 21334; Bücheler, *CE* 2221; Engström, *CE* 452
44 *CIL* VIII.9496; Bücheler, *CE* 1455
45 *CIL* VIII.9508; Bücheler, *CE* 1234
46 *CIL* VIII.21008; Bücheler, *CE* 125
47 *CIL* VIII.21031; Bücheler, *CE* 479; Galletier 1922, 41
48 *CIL* VIII.21179; Bücheler, *CE* 429
49 *CIL* VIII.21284
50 *CIL* VIII.21461
51 *CIL* VIII.9642; Bücheler, *CE* 1603
52 *CIL* VIII.9729; Bücheler, *CE* 1330
53 *CIL* VIII.21553

H BRITANNIA

1 *CIL* VII.154; Bücheler, *CE* 806; *RIB* 292